

## TRUMP, AS NOMINEE, VOWS: 'I AM YOUR VOICE'

### NEWS ANALYSIS

### Failed Chance To Humanize Outsize Image

By MICHAEL BARBARO

CLEVELAND — It was Donald J. Trump's best chance to escape his own caricature. He did not.

After 40 years in the public eye, Mr. Trump decided on Thursday night that he was not interested in revealing himself to America with disarming tales of his upbringing, hard-earned lessons from his tumultuous career or the inner struggles masked by his outward pomposity.

In the most consequential speech of his life, delivered 401 days into his improbable run for the White House, Mr. Trump sounded much like the man who had started it with an escalator ride in the lobby of Trump Tower: He conjured up chaos and promised overnight solutions.

To an electorate that remains anxious about his demeanor, his honesty and his character, Mr. Trump offered no acknowledgment, no rebuttal, no explanation.

It was a speech that might be remembered, ultimately, as much for what it lacked as for what it contained — and for the message those absences seemed to convey: He is content with the angry voters he has won, who thunderously cheered him on here, and indifferent about wooing those he has not.

For those grasping for new signs of humility, generosity and depth, Mr. Trump offered the thinnest of reeds.

Inside the Quicken Loans Arena, a thicket of American flags behind him, he portrayed himself, over and over, as an almost messianic figure prepared to rescue the country from the ills of urban crime, illegal immigration and global terrorism.

"I alone," he said, "can fix it."

But Mr. Trump made no real case for his qualifications to lead the world's largest economy and strongest military. He is, he said, a very successful man who knows how to make it all better.

Campaign speechwriters from both parties were stupefied.

"It's a lost opportunity," said Matt Latimer, who wrote speeches for President George W. Bush. He said he had expected Mr. Trump to plumb his personal life and career for the kind of anecdotes that would turn him, in the eyes of his doubters, from a cartoon into a flesh-and-blood human being.

"A little humanity and self-

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DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump and Mike Pence took the stage with family members as the convention closed Thursday night.

### Focuses on Threats to Nation as He Takes G.O.P. Mantle

By PATRICK HEALY and JONATHAN MARTIN

CLEVELAND — Donald John Trump accepted the Republican presidential nomination on Thursday night with an unusually vehement appeal to Americans who feel that their country is spiraling out of control and yearn for a leader who will take aggressive, even extreme, actions to protect them.

Mr. Trump, 70, a New York real estate developer and reality television star who leveraged his fame and forceful persona to become the rare political outsider to lead the ticket of a major party, drew exuberant cheers from Republican convention delegates as he strode onto the stage of the Quicken Loans Arena and delivered a speech as fiery as his candidacy.

With dark imagery and an almost angry tone, Mr. Trump portrayed the United States as a diminished and even humiliated nation, and offered himself as an all-powerful savior who could resurrect the country's standing in the eyes of both enemies and law-abiding Americans.

"Our convention occurs at a moment of crisis for our nation," an ominous-sounding Mr. Trump said, standing against a backdrop of American flags. "The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life. Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country."

Mr. Trump nearly shouted the names of states where police officers had been killed recently, as the crowd erupted in applause, and returned repeatedly to the major theme of the speech: "Law and order," he said four times, each time drawing out the syllables.

Mr. Trump challenged Republican orthodoxy as he promised to end multilateral trade deals and limit American intervention in global crises. He denounced "15 years of wars in the Middle East" — a rebuke of his party's last president, George W. Bush — and pledged to help union members, coal miners and other low-wage Americans who have historically supported Democrats.

"These are the forgotten men and women of our country," said Mr. Trump, a billionaire with a mixed record of job creation and layoffs. "People who work hard but no longer have a voice — I am your voice."

He even vowed "to do everything in my power to protect our L.G.B.T.Q. citizens from the violence and oppression of a hateful foreign ideology." As the audience applauded, Mr. Trump made a deviation from his prepared text, observing: "I have to say, that as a Republican, it is so nice to hear you cheering for what I just said."

Facing a restive party on the final night of a convention that has been unusually turbulent and divided, Mr. Trump seemed to make headway in galvanizing and unifying at least those Republicans gathered in the hall. The nearly-full arena was rapt as Mr. Trump spoke, and when he began discussing illegal immigration, a familiar

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### Moneyed Class Finds Place in Current G.O.P.

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE

CLEVELAND — In his unlikely rise to the Republican nomination Donald J. Trump attacked lobbyists, disparaged big donors and railed against the party's establishment. But on the shores of Lake Erie this week, beyond the glare of television cameras, the power of the permanent political class seemed virtually undisturbed.

Though Mr. Trump promises to topple Washington's "rigged system," the opening rounds of his

party's quadrennial meeting accentuated a more enduring maxim: Money always adapts to power.

At a downtown barbecue joint, lobbyists cheerfully passed out stickers reading "Make Lobbying Great Again" as they schmoozed on Monday with Republican ambassadors, lawmakers and executives. At a windowless bar tucked behind the Ritz-Carlton hotel, whose rooms were set aside for the party's most generous benefactors, allies of Mr. Trump pitched a clutch of receptive party

donors on contributing to a pro-Trump "super PAC."

And on Tuesday night, as Republican delegates formally made Mr. Trump their presidential nominee, a few dozen lobbyists and their clients instead sipped gin and munched on Brie puffs in an oak-paneled room at the Union Club. They had come to witness a more urgent presentation: Newt Gingrich, a top Trump adviser and Beltway fixture, painting an upbeat picture of the deals they could help sculpt on infrastruc-

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### ELECTION 2016

**THE FAMILY** Mobbed by fans, the Trump children are emerging in Ohio as celebrities in their own right. PAGE A10

**POLICIES** What the candidate's unconventional approach to foreign policy would mean in practice. PAGE A11

**THE CLINTON TICKET** One of Hillary Clinton's vice-presidential contenders may not thrill liberals. PAGE A10

### As Accusations Build, Murdoch Ushers Ailes Out at Fox News

This article is by John Koblin, Emily Steel and Jim Rutenberg.

In the dark for days, Fox News staffers finally got word on Thursday about the future of their network.

The news was delivered in person by Rupert Murdoch, the 85-year-old media mogul who started Fox News with Roger Ailes 20 years ago.

It was an unexpected visit, and with stunned employees listening in Fox's Midtown Manhattan headquarters, Mr. Murdoch announced that Mr. Ailes was out as chairman and chief executive. Mr. Murdoch himself would be taking over Fox News in the interim.

Mr. Ailes was not there. Mr. Murdoch had barred him from the building starting on Wednesday, according to one person briefed on the matter. The person said Fox



DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES

Roger Ailes, Fox News chairman, leaving the News Corporation building on Tuesday. He was barred from his office the next day.

News's parent company, 21st Century Fox, had learned Mr. Ailes was trying to get some of his on-air stars to criticize those who

cooperated with investigators looking into accusations of sexual harassment against him. The announcement was the cul-

### POWERFUL TRANSFORMATION

At Fox News, Roger Ailes exploited the close connection of TV and politics. Page B1.

mination of an unsettling 15-day stretch for the network that began on July 6, when Gretchen Carlson, a former Fox anchor, filed a lawsuit accusing Mr. Ailes of sexual harassment. That led to an internal investigation by 21st Century Fox.

It was a stunning fall for one of the most powerful people in the media industry, who built Fox News into a ratings juggernaut and a hugely influential platform for Republican politics.

Mr. Ailes will walk away with about \$40 million as part of a settlement agreement, according to two people briefed on the matter, Continued on Page B5

### N.B.A. to Move All-Star Game In Protest Over Bathroom Law

By SCOTT CACCIOLA and ALAN BLINDER

The National Basketball Association on Thursday dealt a blow to the economy and prestige of North Carolina by pulling next February's All-Star Game from Charlotte to protest a state law that eliminated anti-discrimination protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

The move was among the most prominent consequences since the law, which also bars transgender people from using bathrooms in public buildings that do not correspond with their birth gender, was passed in March.

The league, which has become increasingly involved in social issues, said that both it and the Hornets, the N.B.A. team based in

Charlotte, had been talking to state officials about changing the law but that time had run out because of the long lead time needed to stage the game. The N.B.A. said it hoped the game could be played in Charlotte in 2019, with the clear implication that the law would have to be changed before then.

"While we recognize that the N.B.A. cannot choose the law in every city, state and country in which we do business, we do not believe we can successfully host our All-Star festivities in Charlotte in the climate created by the current law," a statement by the league said.

Gov. Pat McCrory of North Carolina

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The arrests of 10 Islamist militant group members raised tensions two weeks before the Olympic Games. PAGE A4

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The Tunisian man who killed 84 people in France had gotten help from at least five people, a prosecutor said. PAGE A9

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Prosecutors want interviews that Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl made for the "Serial" podcast about his captivity. PAGE A18

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The country's epidemic abuse of heroin and prescription pills is taking hold, or even worsening, in New York's immigrant neighborhoods. PAGE A21

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The F.C.C. picked a unit of Ericsson, a Swedish tech giant, to manage the system that routes wireless calls and texts in the United States. PAGE B1

**Sun, Sky and Pokémon Go**  
Dozens gather in the heart of San Francisco, their arms outstretched and their eyes glued to tiny screens. PAGE B1

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The socialite and fashion leader was the widow of the department store heir Alfred S. Bloomingdale.



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Opening his tour, the performer signaled he has battles to fight, some back home in Toronto. A review. PAGE C1

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At the New Museum, "The Keeper" shows why we can't take our eyes off other people's collections. PAGE C17

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A court finds a penalty against an Olympic track team is sound. PAGE B8

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**Paul Krugman** PAGE A27



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## Inside The Times

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#### Erdogan Urges Loyalty In Text Sent Across Turkey

The day after declaring a national state of emergency in the wake of a failed coup, Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, exhorted continued loyalty via a text message to the country. PAGE A7

#### Torture in Ukraine War

A report by two human rights groups accuses Ukraine's Western-backed security services of practicing abuse and torture in a manner similar to that of the rebel groups they are fighting. PAGE A6

#### North Korea's Radio Waves

North Korea broadcast a series of seemingly random numbers on Pyongyang Radio twice recently, an eerie reminder of the days when the North encrypted messages to its spies in South Korea. PAGE A6

#### Israeli Official Offends

Israel's defense minister compared the Palestinians' national poet to Adolf Hitler and threatened the independence of Israel's Army Radio station. PAGE A6

#### Mexican Reporter Sued

A Mexican journalist who reported on the purchase of a luxury home by Mexico's first lady now faces a lawsuit that may have a chilling effect on other journalists. PAGE A6

### NATIONAL

#### Florida Police Shoot Black Man Aiding Patient

A black man said the police in North Miami, Fla., shot him as he tried to help a patient with autism who had run away from the group home where he works. A video shows him on the ground with his hands in the air before he was shot in the leg. PAGE A19

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Fritz Koenig's "Sphere for Plaza Fountain," once the sculptural centerpiece of the World Trade Center, will be reinstalled there this year. PAGE A24

#### New Nail Salon Regulations

All nail salons in New York State will be required to have ventilation systems to protect manicurists and others from the potentially dangerous health effects of chemicals used in nail products. PAGE A24

#### A 'Heat Dome' Is Coming

A scary-sounding weather phenomenon called a "heat dome" is creeping across the country and is due to arrive in New York City just in time for the weekend. PAGE A22

### BUSINESS

#### Tesla Doubles Down On Self-Driving Technology

Despite federal safety investigations of Tesla's self-driving cars, the company's chief executive, Elon Musk, pledged to expand beyond electric cars into battery-powered pickups, semitrucks and buses, and to equip them with advanced self-driving systems. PAGE B4

#### Safer Phone for Journalists

Edward J. Snowden said that he planned to help develop a modified version of Apple's iPhone for journalists who are concerned that they may be the target of government surveillance. PAGE B2

### SPORTS

#### Olympics Insurance Policies May Not Cover Zika

Insurance companies for the Rio Games are already serving notice that they may not cover every type of loss related to Zika. PAGE B9

### WEEKEND ARTS

#### Sports Photographers As the Artists They Are

"Who Shot Sports," at the Brooklyn Museum, invites visitors to reconsider work that has long been seen as ephemeral. PAGE C17

### QUOTATION OF THE DAY

**“To every parent who dreams for their child, and every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight: I'm with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you.”**

DONALD J. TRUMP, in his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention. [A14]

### OP-ED

David Brooks PAGE A27

### ONLINE

**TRUMP CHILDREN IN SPOTLIGHT**  
If the convention had any stars, it was Donald J. Trump's children. nytimes.com/video

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Obituaries A20  
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## Corrections

### FRONT PAGE

An article on Wednesday about how recent police shootings about highlighted the inner tug of war that black officers experience regarding race relations and law enforcement paraphrased incorrectly from a Facebook post by Officer Montrell Jackson about the way he was seen when he was out of uniform. Officer Jackson, who was killed Sunday in Baton Rouge, wrote that he felt people considered him a threat, not that he felt threatened.

An article on Thursday about a speech by Senator Ted Cruz of Texas at the Republican National Convention referred incorrectly to Gerald R. Ford's nomination for president at the 1976 Republican National Convention, at which Ronald Reagan made a memorable speech that set him up for his own nomination four years later. It was Ford's first nomination; he was not "renominate." (Though Ford was the incumbent, he became president when he succeeded Richard M. Nixon after Nixon's resignation in 1974.)

### INTERNATIONAL

Because of an editing error, the Memo From Barcelona article on June 24, about collaboration among rival political parties in

Spain at the municipal and regional levels despite paralysis at the parliamentary level just before new national elections, omitted the name of one of Spain's four main political parties. Besides Podemos, the Popular Party and the Citizens party, the Socialists are also a major party.

An article on June 23 about a declaration by North Korea that its test launch of an intermediate-range ballistic missile the day before was a success misspelled the name of the missile at several points, in some editions. As the article correctly noted elsewhere, the missile is the Musudan, not the Musadan. The error was repeating in an accompanying picture caption in some editions.

### NATIONAL

An article on Monday about speakers at the Republican National Convention erroneously included an actor and model among Hispanics who were on the list. Antonio Sabato Jr., best known for his Calvin Klein underwear ads, is a native of Italy and a naturalized United States citizen; he is not Hispanic.

### NEW YORK

A picture caption on July 14 with an article about a police crack-

down in Brooklyn after a rash of K2 overdoses misidentified Adrian Llewellyn's position at Woodhull Medical and Mental Health Center. Mr. Llewellyn, who was shown working in the emergency department at Woodhull, is a physician assistant, not a doctor.

### BUSINESS DAY

An article on Wednesday about efforts to revive the Glass-Steagall Act misstated the circumstances of JPMorgan Chase's use of the Trouble Asset Relief Program. The bank took \$25 billion from TARP at the government's request; it did not seek the assistance.

An article on the Square Feet page on Wednesday about the growing popularity of outdoor space in office buildings misidentified the owner of 2 Gansevoort Street, a former warehouse in the meatpacking district. It is the William Kaufman Organization,

not the Kaufman Organization.

### THE ARTS

An article on July 14 about the first exhibition of artworks at the National September 11 Memorial Museum in Manhattan that were created as a response to the attacks of Sept. 11 referred incompletely to the commissioned works in the museum when it opened in 2014. Besides one by Spencer Finch, there was also one by Tom Joyce.

Because of an editing error, an article on Tuesday about the political tract "Hindutva or Hind Swaraj," by the Indian novelist and political commentator U. R. Ananthamurthy, referred incorrectly at one point to the plural nationalism originating from Indians' struggle against British colonialism. As the article correctly noted elsewhere, "Hind Swaraj" is a text by Mohandas K. Gandhi, not a term for plural nationalism.

about issues of journalistic integrity may reach the public editor at public@nytimes.com or (212) 556-8044.

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This year's N.B.A. All-Star Game in Toronto. The league is set to announce a new site for next year's game in the next few weeks.

## N.B.A. to Move All-Star Game Over Bathroom Law

From Page A1

olina issued a blistering statement soon after the announcement by the N.B.A. He said "the sports and entertainment elite," among others, had "misrepresented our laws and maligned the people of North Carolina simply because most people believe boys and girls should be able to use school bathrooms, locker rooms and showers without the opposite sex present."

Mr. McCrory did not specifically refer to the N.B.A. in his statement, but he said that "American families should be on notice that the selective corporate elite are imposing their political will on communities in which they do business, thus bypassing the democratic and legal process."

Others weighed in in support of the N.B.A.'s move, including two of its broadcast partners — Turner Sports and ESPN.

In taking the action it did, the N.B.A. is following the path already taken by others. A number of musicians, including Bruce Springsteen, Ringo Starr and Itzhak Perlman, canceled concerts in North Carolina to protest the law, and there have been calls for repeal of the legislation by a number of businesses, some of which have canceled plans to create new jobs in the state.

All-Star weekend is one of the flashiest and most lucrative events on the league's annual schedule. In addition to the game, the league arranges three days full of activities for fans. There is a separate game for the league's rising stars, a dunk contest and a 3-point contest.

Now all of that will be held elsewhere next February, with the N.B.A. to announce a new site for the game in the next few weeks.

The decision by the N.B.A. comes after its commissioner, Adam Silver, had strongly hinted that such a move might be coming and again thrusts the league into the middle of social issues now gripping the nation, setting the league apart, at least for now, from Major League Baseball, the National Football League and other sports entities.

In recent weeks, a number of the N.B.A.'s top players have spoken out in dismay as they reacted to shootings around the country that have left police officers dead



JEFF CHIU/ASSOCIATED PRESS

N.B.A. Commissioner Adam Silver expressed disappointment that North Carolina legislators had not modified the law.

in two cities and the police accused of deadly recklessness in several other cases.

And last December, the N.B.A. participated in a series of television advertisements denouncing gun violence that aired during its long Christmas Day schedule of games.

Players in the N.B.A.'s sister league — the W.N.B.A. — have also become vocal. In recent weeks, players on several W.N.B.A. teams wore T-shirts during warm-ups before games that addressed the recent shootings.

On Thursday, just hours before the N.B.A. announced it was pulling the All-Star Game out of Charlotte, the W.N.B.A. fined the players on three teams \$500 apiece, and the clubs \$5,000, saying it had no problem with the players' public "engagement" with difficult social issues but drew the line at violating the guidelines on team uniforms.

A number of W.N.B.A. players stated their unhappiness with the fines and they drew support from the Knicks' Carmelo Anthony, who has been one of the most outspoken N.B.A. players this past month. He said Thursday that he saw no reason for "anybody to get fined."

The action by the N.B.A. is also certain to inject new fervor into the debate about North Carolina's law, which many people still refer to as House Bill 2.

Before its adjournment this month, and in defiance of pleas

from public officials and corporate executives in Charlotte, the General Assembly resisted demands that it back away from some of the most contentious elements of the law, which supporters have argued is about public safety, not discrimination.

The fate of the law, which the United States Justice Department has challenged as a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, will most likely be settled in court. A federal judge in Winston-Salem, N.C., will hear arguments next

### A league's action again thrusts it into social issues.

month about whether to block the law while the litigation is pending.

Even before the N.B.A.'s action on Thursday, Republicans in North Carolina had signaled repeatedly that the league's misgivings about the law were unlikely to persuade its supporters.

"Our values are not shaped by the N.B.A. or Bruce Springsteen or some opinion poll," state Representative Phil Shepard, a Republican and a Baptist minister, declared at a rally in April. "We're standing strong."

But it was also in April that Mr. Silver was spelling out how prob-

lematic the N.B.A. thought the law was. He noted at the time that the league had a "long record of speaking out where we see discrimination."

Last week, Mr. Silver weighed in again, saying of North Carolina's legislators: "We were frankly hoping that they would make some steps toward modifying the legislation and frankly I was disappointed that they didn't."

It remains to be seen whether any other major sports organization may take action in connection with the North Carolina law. Notably, the N.C.A.A.'s Division I men's basketball tournament has first- and second-round games scheduled for North Carolina in 2017 and 2018, but has given no indication that it might move them elsewhere.

However, Mike Krzyzewski, the coach at Duke, which is in Durham, N.C., and has long been one of the N.C.A.A.'s most prominent basketball teams, has been sharply critical of the North Carolina law.

He has been in Las Vegas this week coaching the men's national basketball team as it trains for next month's Summer Olympics, and Thursday he said North Carolina had "lost a lot" because of the legislation.

He had previously described the law as "embarrassing."

Chris Sgro, the executive director of Equality North Carolina and the only openly gay member of the state's General Assembly, said in a telephone interview Thursday that the N.B.A. was making a strong statement by removing one of its marquee events from Charlotte.

"The state of North Carolina grossly overreached by passing the worst anti-L.G.B.T. bill in the nation, and they have cost us the N.B.A. All-Star Game," Mr. Sgro said. "The blame for \$100 million in economic loss and the impact that it has on the city of Charlotte and the entire state is squarely at the feet of the McCrory machine."

State legislators are not scheduled to reconvene until January.

"I could very well see a special session to deal with this issue," Mr. Sgro said. "We're going to continue to sustain incredible economic harm if we don't repeal House Bill 2."

## Secrecy Reigns as U.N. Seeks a New Secretary General

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

UNITED NATIONS — The race for the next United Nations secretary general has been marked by two things: A clamor for a woman to take the helm after 70 years of male leadership, and a push for more sunlight into the mysterious process by which the Security Council makes its selection.

On Thursday, two things became clear for the six men and six women vying for the post.

First, two men — Antonio Guterres, the former prime minister of Portugal, and Danilo Turk, the former president of Slovenia — got the most votes in a secret Security Council straw poll, with a woman, Irina Bokova, a Bulgarian diplomat and the head of the United Nations cultural agency, Unesco, close on their heels.

Second, despite all the agitation for transparency, secrecy continued to prevail in the Council chambers. Diplomats emerged from the nearly two-hour voting session with lips sealed about whom they had given a thumb's up or thumb's down. Even the candidates, who were told the results, were instructed not to reveal them. It was like the diplomatic version of the conclave of cardinals to select a pope.

No matter. Within a couple of hours, news trickled out, which led the General Assembly president, Mogens Lykketoft, a Danish diplomat, to wonder aloud why the Council did not just make the results of the process public.

"They act as if it's secret," said Mr. Lykketoft, a champion of greater transparency who presided over a two-hour question-and-answer session for each candidate before the 193-member General Assembly. "We all know the figures from the media."

By the close of business Thursday his office had not received official results, so Mr. Lykketoft took to Twitter to urge the Council to share them. The 1 for 7 Billion

### Pushing for more sunlight in an obscure process.

campaign, a civil society coalition agitating for an open process for the last 18 months, echoed the call, pressing the Council to "a continued commitment to a transparent process."

This year, for the first time in the 70-year history of the United Nations, all 12 candidates have had to explain, publicly, their background and how they propose to repair a world in tatters.

The race could not come at a more critical time, with eroding public confidence in institutions, not least the United Nations. Several rounds of straw polls are expected in the coming weeks, with a final decision in October at the earliest. The new secretary gen-

eral will succeed Ban Ki-moon when his term expires at the end of 2016.

The choice, ultimately, is likely to be made by the United States and Russia, each of which can veto any candidate. The gulf between the two countries is arguably bigger than in many years, which could make it harder for them to agree on a consensus candidate. At the same time, many diplomats say, the more public questioning of candidates makes it harder for Washington and Moscow to make a deal on someone who performed poorly. As the British ambassador, Matthew Rycroft, put it Thursday, they "increase the chances of getting a stronger secretary general at the end of this."

Russia has said it believes that it is time for someone for Eastern Europe to have the job. Regional rotations have become customary, though nothing in the United Nations Charter stipulates it. The United States has said only that it would like to see a strong secretary general, and it is widely understood that it would prefer someone who will not buck its national interests. "We're looking for somebody with great leadership skills, great management skills, someone who has a commitment to fairness and accountability and who stays true to the founding principles of the United Nations," Samantha Power, the United States ambassador, said before heading into the Council chambers to cast her vote.

Thursday's straw poll made no

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## Unearthing China's Past at a Market Valued for Its Raffish Spirit



GILLES SABRIE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Panjiayuan market, a favorite of treasure hunters and tourists. Its existence was threatened when the state company that manages it clashed with merchants over rental rights.

By JANE PERLEZ

BEIJING — The vast antiques market is awash in jewelry, snuff bottles, old clocks, brass paperweights, ceramics, and slabs of jade of many hues and dubious quality. It has the same feel as flea markets all around the world that advertise antiquities but do not always deliver the real thing.

Yet when strolling through the Panjiayuan market, a huge open-air space in southeast Beijing, the question of whether the wares are authentic is beside the point. At its heart, the market is a raucous hub for unearthing the past 100 years or more of China's turbulent past.

There are 20-foot-tall stone statues of Buddha, busts of Confucius, Ming-era lions and huge urns suitable for the gardens of a palace. There are old books, posters and vintage photo-

graphs.

Collectors of rare books and posters of China find gems in the ramshackle alleyways devoted to old paper items. Or they make discoveries in the more exclusive little shops in the grandly named Panjiayuan Exhibition Hall, a dowdy gray building that was added to the market in the last decade.

A favorite haunt of treasure hunters as well as Chinese and foreign tourists, the market was threatened with a shutdown this spring when the state company that manages it clashed with merchants over renting rights for tiny spaces — often amounting to a patch of ground measuring just 4 feet by 6 feet.

Scuffles broke out between the police and some vendors. Many stalls closed in protest over rumors about plans to move the market to a spot in Hebei Province, 160 miles to the west.

### Loyalists rally to a stand out from the city's gaudy malls.

Then the vice mayor of the city, Li Shixiang, backed off, and said about 1,000 of the estimated 4,000 stalls would be closed as part of a plan to upgrade the market, an idea that goes against the popular grain.

Most fans agree that a raffish spirit is one of Panjiayuan's most appealing features. It remains a stand out from the city's gaudy malls that sell silk, pearls and fake designer goods.

The vendors are standing firm against the city's edicts, insisting they will not budge. And the buyers keep

coming.

"I have been here since 1995," said Ren Guibin, 55, as he sat in his book-lined nook with glass-fronted cabinets in the more upscale section of the exhibition hall. "I am not moving. My customers know where to find me."

Behind his desk, a framed poster of a young Chinese woman — her cheeks flushed with enthusiasm, her hair tied back and her arm thrust skyward in a revolutionary salute — leaned against the wall. It was one of his prize pieces from the Cultural Revolution, the period from 1966 to 1976 when Mao Zedong's Red Guards were in the vanguard.

"I was offered \$25,000 for it, but I turned it down," Mr. Ren said. Even though he had owned the poster for eight years, he was in no rush to sell it.

That is because a wealthy Chinese collector of Cultural Revolution memo-

abilia prepared to pay more would be sure to buy it, he said. The recent surge of patriotism combined with astonishing new wealth has created a new kind of buyer: the serious and affluent Chinese collector.

"Twenty years ago, Americans bought all this Cultural Revolution stuff. It was like buying cabbage for them, it was so cheap. Now rich Chinese are going to buy it all back."

Down the corridor, another vendor was doing business with Marien van der Heijden, of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, which owns a large collection of Chinese propaganda posters that is displayed on [chineseposters.net](http://chineseposters.net).

By midmorning, Mr. van der Heijden, a visitor here for the past 15 years, had amassed about 50 posters, neatly rolled

Continued on Page A8

## 10 Are Arrested in Brazil On Terrorism Charges

### A Police Sweep 2 Weeks Before the Olympics

By SIMON ROMERO

RIO DE JANEIRO — The Brazilian authorities arrested 10 members of an Islamist militant group that was organizing terrorist attacks, officials announced Thursday, raising tension around the country just two weeks before the start of the Olympic Games.

The Federal Police said in a statement that the suspects belonged to a group called the Defenders of Sharia. Agents from an antiterrorism unit are investigating the group's activities in several states, including Rio de Janeiro, where the Games will take place.

The arrests were announced at a time when the Brazilian authorities are coming under scrutiny over security preparations for the Olympics. Responding to the truck massacre last week in Nice, France, Brazil's sports minister, Leonardo Picciani, told reporters on Wednesday that "the government is absolutely convinced that the Games will be safe."

Brazil's justice minister, Alexandre de Moraes, said Thursday that Brazil's main intelligence agency, known as ABIN, was working with foreign intelligence services and the Federal Police, an investigative force in Brazil that is similar to the F.B.I.

Officials said that the people arrested had communicated with one another via WhatsApp and Telegram, two mobile messaging services. Mr. Moraes said the suspects had been taken into custody

"when they went from basic commentaries about the Islamic State to preparatory acts."

Still, Mr. Moraes emphasized the group's embryonic nature, calling it "an amateur cell without any preparation." He said that its members had been seeking to buy weapons in Paraguay, including an AK-47 rifle, but that no such arms acquisitions were confirmed.

"This is a disorganized cell," Mr. Moraes said, who described all those arrested as Brazilian citizens. He said that intercepted messages showed members of the group celebrating the recent attacks in Orlando, Fla., and Nice.

Mr. Moraes did not provide more details about what kind of attack the group was planning, but he said officials had to act "because of the proximity of the Olympics."

Marcos Josegri da Silva, the federal judge overseeing the case, said on Thursday that the suspects ranged in age from 20 to 40, and that they communicated with each other using code names in Arabic even though none appeared to have Arab ancestry.

"It's hard to call them terrorists," Judge da Silva said. "But even though they don't have a very solid organization, the arrests are warranted from a legal point of view."

One suspect, identified in Brazilian media reports as Vitor Barbosa Magalhães, 23, converted to Islam several years ago and lived in the city of Guarulhos in São Paulo State's metropolitan area, where he works in his father's car repair shop.

Mr. Magalhães's wife told reporters he had traveled to



CHRISTOPHE SIMON/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Brazilian marines on maneuvers in Rio de Janeiro, near the site of Olympic sailing competitions. The Games open on Aug. 5.

Egypt in 2012 to study Arabic and Islam. After returning to Brazil, he gave classes in Arabic over YouTube and maintained a WhatsApp group to discuss Islam, she said.

Concern has been increasing here over the potential for terrorist attacks around the Olympics, with police bomb-detonation squads responding to various reports of bags left in public areas (no explosive devices have been found). These fears are relatively new in Brazil, a country that has largely been spared the kind of large-scale attacks that have horrified Europe, the Middle East, the

United States and many other parts of the world.

Brazilian officials have also said they were enhancing security measures following a report by the SITE Intelligence Group, which monitors jihadist websites, saying that a group calling itself Ansar al-Khilafah Brazil had proclaimed allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of the Islamic State.

The arrests on Thursday marked a turning point in the way Brazil's government generally discusses terrorism threats. For more than a decade, and especially after the Sept. 11 attacks,

Brazilian intelligence officials have been monitoring individuals suspected of links to terrorism.

During that time, however, "Brazilian government officials kept saying publicly that no credible evidence exists that people who live inside Brazil have links to terrorism," said Marcos Ferreira, a scholar focusing on terrorism in South America at the Federal University of Paraíba.

At the same time, other experts voiced caution as to whether the suspects would have put a plot into motion.

"Initially, these arrests seem very fragile," said Rodrigo Mon-

teiro, a security specialist at the Federal Fluminense University in Rio. "We need to wait a bit for the government to define the threat in a better way."

On Thursday, the justice minister, Mr. Moraes, said that violent crime remained the priority ahead of the Olympics. Despite gun control measures, Rio is still awash in weapons, with drug gangs wielding control over parts of the city. The authorities have begun deploying tens of thousands of troops to bolster security in Rio.

"The biggest concern is still crime," Mr. Moraes said.

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# Ukraine's Security Services and Rebels Are Said to Be Equals in Torture

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

MOSCOW — A report by two leading human rights groups released on Thursday accuses Ukraine's Western-backed security services of practicing abuse and torture in a manner similar to that of the rebel groups they are fighting.

In the report about disappearances and torture in the Ukraine war, titled "You Don't Exist," Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International document harrowing abuse by both sides, including waterboarding and the use of electrical shocks.

Ukraine has been battling Russian-backed separatists in the country's east since 2014, with fighting grinding on despite a cease-fire. This week, seven

Ukrainian soldiers died in a single day of fighting.

The front line zigzags through several towns, so that worries about spies and surreptitious artillery spotters among the civilian population run high in the armies of both sides, and abuse follows, the report said.

"People in eastern Ukraine who are being seized and hidden away by the warring sides are at the mercy of their captors," Tanya Lokshina, a researcher with Human Rights Watch and one of the authors of the report, said in a statement.

"It is never legal or justified to seize people off the streets, cut them off from contact with family and lawyers, and beat and abuse them," she said.

Ukraine's domestic intelligence agency, the Security Service of Ukraine, denies illegally detaining suspects in the conflict. And yet as recently as May, it refused to allow a United Nations delegation investigating reports of torture access to sites where suspects were alleged to be held illegally.

During the two-year conflict, much attention had fallen on the abuses of Russian-backed rebels, who routinely rounded up and held in basements civilians expressing pro-Ukrainian views, freeing them after a ransom had been paid or in prisoner exchanges.

The report said the Ukrainian security services may have created an "exchange fund" or "currency" of detainees detainees, to

trade for supporters in rebel areas, driving the abuse. Nobody wants to be left empty-handed during prisoner exchanges.

"This gives rise to serious concern that both sides may be detaining civilians to have 'currency' for potential exchanges," the report said. This practice could constitute hostage taking, a war crime, it said.

The rights groups detailed nine instances of detainee abuse on each side, and in nearly all 18 cases the men and women in custody were either freed in a prisoner exchange or at one point objects of negotiation.

The Ukrainian domestic intelligence agency probably runs unacknowledged detention centers at sites throughout eastern Ukraine, the report said, in

Kharkiv, Kramatorsk, Izum and Mariupol.

One man whom the investigators interviewed, identified only by his first name, Artem, recounted being detained by the Ukrainian authorities, handcuffed to a metal rod on a ceiling and beaten, with demands to tell "everything."

He was also shocked with bare electrical wires on his back and wires were applied to his genitals, although it was unclear whether the current was turned on. He also described being suffocated with a wet mop, or waterboarded.

He was eventually traded for a detainee held on the rebel side. The report detailed similar mistreatment by the Russian-backed security services of the two rebel governments, known as the

Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics.

Svetlana Rozova, a Ukrainian psychologist who works with detainees freed from rebel jails, said in an interview that victims emerge with deep emotional scars. During incarceration by rebel groups, beatings, mock executions and forced menial labor, like digging trenches, are common.

Recovery is harder when these detainees learn that they were held, sometimes for months, only for the sake of padding out an exchange deal.

"They didn't understand why it has happened to them," she said. "They just wanted to run away, and forget all of this, but they won't be able to forget it soon. They are mentally broken."

# Pyongyang Radio Revives Coded Broadcasts for Spies

By CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL, South Korea — In an era of sophisticated spycraft, North Korea appears to be returning to the days of shortwave radio.

The North broadcast a series of seemingly random numbers on Pyongyang Radio twice recently, an eerie reminder of the days when the North encrypted messages to its spies in South Korea.

In the latest episode last Friday, an announcer read what she described as "a mathematics review assignment for investigative agent No. 27," engaged in a "distance learning" program.

"Turn to Page 459, No. 35; Page 913, No. 55; Page 135, No. 86," she said, continuing to cite numbers for 14 minutes.

Decades ago, it was not unusual for late-night radio listeners in the South to hear mysterious numbers arriving on static-filled signals from the North. The South Korean government in Seoul tried to block the signals and barred its citizens from listening.

Kim Dong-sik, a former intelligence officer for North Korea, said he used to listen for such broadcasts at midnight each night to check whether his spymasters had a message for him. Mr. Kim was caught by the South in 1995 after a gun battle with South Korean agents and police officers.

"When I arrived in the South, I had five different call signs assigned to me," said Mr. Kim, who now works as a senior analyst at the Institute for National Security Strategy, a think tank run by South Korea's National Intelligence Service. "Each night, I listened for my call signs."

The June 24 and July 15 broadcasts, confirmed by the South Korean government on Wednesday, were the first such coded messages in 16 years, leaving intelligence officials and analysts puzzled by the North's motives.

The broadcasts come amid concerns about the North, which has raised tension with the United States and its allies by conducting a series of missile tests and has issued bold claims of advances in its quest for a nuclear-tipped long-range missile.

North Korea has reacted strongly to a plan by the United States to deploy an advanced missile defense system in the South. This week, it fired three ballistic missiles, saying that they were used in simulated tests to detonate nuclear warheads over seaports and airfields in the South, where American reinforcements are supposed to arrive in the event of a war.

The tests defied a new round of sanctions that the United Nations Security Council imposed against the North after a nuclear test in January and a long-range rocket launch in February.

Jeong Joon-hee, a government spokesman for South Korea, has called the resumption of the broadcasts "seriously regrettable" but declined to comment on any motives. "The North should abandon its old ways," he said.

South Korea itself has resorted to old-school propaganda in recent years, resuming loudspeaker and radio broadcasts into the North and juicing them up with synthesized Korean music known as K-pop.

Some analysts said the North's use of a bygone encryption tool was rekindling old fear among South Koreans of an escalation in psychological warfare. North Korea stopped sending out such coded messages by shortwave radio after the Koreans held a summit meeting in 2000, agreeing to de-escalate the Cold War-era intrigue on the divided peninsula.

Since then, the North is believed to have adopted more sophisticated methods of communi-



JEAN CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kim Dong-sik, a former North Korean agent, said he spent countless hours when he was training in the 1980s learning to uncover messages from strings of numbers in tape-recorded broadcasts.

cation. When the South's intelligence service announced the capture of a spy ring in 2011, it said that the officers contacted the North through steganography, a technique for encrypting a message into a text, image or video file delivered online.

Mr. Kim, the analyst and former spy, said the broadcasts should be taken seriously. He said the North appeared to be bolstering its espionage operations since 2009, when it created the General Bureau of Reconnaissance by merging various party and military agencies in charge of sending spies to the South.

Washington blacklisted the bureau after North Korean hackers were accused of wreaking havoc on the computer network of Sony's movie studio in 2014.

At a time when the counterintelligence authorities use sophisticated technology to monitor the digital communication of espionage suspects, "the old number

broadcasts are still a dependable and preferable means of communication for spies," Mr. Kim said.

"We should assume that the North is using the radio broadcasts to communicate with its agents here or is at least using them to train spies," he added.

He recalled that when he was training in the 1980s, he spent countless hours listening to tape-recorded broadcasts and copying the numbers to master a so-called numbers station technique of encrypted communication.

Mr. Kim said he and his handlers in the North used an agreed-upon book — "Whale Hunt," a popular novel in the South — to decipher one another's codes. As in the broadcast on Friday, a typical five-digit combination started with a three-digit page number. The remaining two digits pointed at two Korean characters in the text of the page.

The two Koreas still accuse each other of spying. The North is

holding at least four South Koreans, some of them sentenced to a labor camp for life, on charges of espionage.

In recent years, the South's intelligence service has arrested people it deemed spies as they entered the country disguised as refugees. Last week, prosecutors said they arrested two South Korean men on charges of spying for the North. They released closed-circuit video of counterespionage officers overpowering a suspect at an internet cafe.

The men used encrypted emails to contact their handlers in the North, the prosecutors said.

Mr. Kim said that during his days as a spy, the radio was a main tool of communication.

"If there was a certain song broadcast by Pyongyang Radio at an agreed-upon hour, that meant that there was something wrong and I should immediately abort my mission," he said. "If not, it was all clear."

# Israeli Official Likens Beloved Palestinian Poet to Hitler

By JAMES GLANZ

JERUSALEM — Israel's ultranationalist defense minister, Avigdor Lieberman, managed to offend both Palestinians and free-speech advocates on Thursday, comparing the Palestinians' national poet to Adolf Hitler and threatening the independence of Israel's Army Radio station.

The controversy erupted after Army Radio, which has been under pressure from right-wing politicians to broadcast more patriotic programming, aired a show about the poetry of Mahmoud Darwish, a revered figure among Palestinians whose work is a staple of school curriculums and is showcased at a signature museum in the West Bank city of Ramallah. The Defense Ministry issued a statement on Thursday saying that Mr. Lieberman had excoriated the commander of the radio station over the show. The statement said that "according to this same logic," it would be possible to "glorify during a broadcast the literary marvels of 'Mein Kampf,'" Hitler's autobiography.

Months after Israel's conservative culture minister raised hackles by trying to adjust Army Radio's playlist, Mr. Lieberman re-

cently assigned a Defense Ministry official to make recommendations on whether the station should continue to operate. The left-leaning Israeli news organization Haaretz reported that Israel's attorney general had phoned Mr. Lieberman on Wednesday night "to remind him he has no authority to intervene in Army Radio's programming."

Mr. Lieberman apparently took issue with the inclusion of Mr. Darwish's work in a series of formative Israeli texts, and he told the commander, according to the ministry's statement, that "the military station's mission is to strengthen social solidarity and not to widen rifts, and certainly not to hurt public sensitivities."

The statement also compared Mr. Darwish, who died in 2008, to the mufti of Jerusalem during World War II, Haj Amin al-Husseini. Last year, the Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, set off a furor when he asserted that Mr. Hussein had given Hitler the idea of annihilating European Jews. Mr. Netanyahu later retracted that assertion.

Mr. Lieberman's statement on Thursday created its own backlash. "Wow — he is such a donkey, excuse my language," said Ghasan Khatib, the vice president of Birzeit University outside Ramal-

lah. "I don't think he has ever read Mahmoud Darwish," he added, suggesting that doing so is important for Israelis because he "presented in a very humanitarian way, in a very artistic way, the Palestinian narrative."

Mr. Darwish occupies a unique place among Palestinians, beloved by politicians, academics and defiant youth. His writing has been described as "the easy impossible" for its appropriation of simple themes, elegantly strung together.

Yossi Klein Halevi, a senior fellow at the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem, said many Israeli Jews focus on a Darwish poem calling on Jews to leave Israel and take their dead with them, adding: "That's where Lieberman's unfortunate comparison is coming from."

Mr. Klein Halevi said that many Israeli Jews feel angry that what he described as Palestinians' "malevolent intentions" are ignored by the international community, but he was nonetheless critical of Mr. Lieberman's statement. "Indulging in Holocaust rhetoric belongs to an earlier era of Israeli political discourse and reveals an anachronistic way of thinking that's out of step with contemporary Israeli discourse," he said.

Israel has long struggled with

Mr. Darwish's work. The Associated Press reported that in 2000, Israel's education minister proposed including his poems in the curriculum of Jewish high schools, but the prime minister at the time, Ehud Barak, overruled him.

Another former prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, read Mr. Darwish's 1988 poem, "Those Who Pass Between Fleeting Words," in Israel's Parliament as an example of the Palestinians' unwillingness to live alongside Jews.

"O those who pass between fleeting words," it reads. "From you steel and fire, from our flesh / From you yet another tank, from us stones / From you tear gas, from us rain."

"It is time for you to be gone / Live wherever you like, but do not live among us," the poem continues. "It is time for you to be gone / Die wherever you like, but do not die among us / For we have work to do in our land."

But for Palestinians, Mr. Darwish is a muse and a hero. Fragments of his poetry are emblazoned on coffee mugs and baby onesies — and as graffiti on the concrete blocks of the Gaza port and West Bank refugee camps, particularly the defiant line, "We have on this land what makes life worth living."



ABBAS MOMANI/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES  
A 2008 vigil in Ramallah after Mahmoud Darwish's death.

For an older generation, Mr. Darwish provided the lyrical inspiration for beloved songs by the Lebanese musician Marcel Khalife.

Mr. Khatib said that Palestinians in general are more familiar with Israeli Jewish culture than the reverse, after a half-century of occupation, even if they are hardly sympathetic to what is seen as the enemy narrative.

"The basic and initial requirement of coexistence," he suggested, "should start from each side knowing and understanding the narratives of the other."

# Mexican Journalist Who Broke Scandal Says She's Being Sued as a Warning

By ELISABETH MALKIN

MEXICO CITY — In an effort to put a scandal that has rocked his presidency behind him, President Enrique Peña Nieto apologized this week for his wife's purchase of a luxury home from a favored contractor.

But the journalist whose team first reported the existence of the house, in November 2014, said Thursday that she was facing a new lawsuit that is intended to send a warning to journalists critical of the Peña Nieto government.

"The idea is that we are harassed, intimidated, that we

self-censor ourselves," said the journalist, Carmen Aristegui. "The origin here is from a place of power."

News of the house, which was built to order in Mexico City's most exclusive neighborhood, cast a deep shadow over Mr. Peña Nieto, already under fire for his government's response to the disappearance of 43 students in September 2014.

On Monday he acknowledged the harm to his presidency, and repeated that he had broken no laws. "This error affected my family, hurt the office and damaged

confidence in the government," he said after signing anticorruption legislation. "I understand perfectly, and for this, with all humility, I ask for your pardon."

His office said this week that his wife, Angélica Rivera, had ended the deal to buy the house in December 2014.

Four months after Ms. Aristegui described the purchase on her website, she and her team were dismissed by MVS Commu-

nications, where she hosted a popular — and provocative — morning radio show for six years. The MVS chairman, Joaquín

Vargas, filed the lawsuit against Ms. Aristegui and Penguin Random House, which published a book in October about the house by four reporters on Ms. Aristegui's team.

In the book's prologue, Ms. Aristegui wrote that the Vargas family had "finally succumbed to pressure and compromises of a power against which they had faced earlier with dignity and courage."

Mr. Vargas's lawsuit asks for unspecified moral damages from her, Ms. Aristegui said. It also demands that Penguin Random House remove the prologue and

apologize, said Ricardo Cayuela, the publisher's editorial director. Lawyers for Ms. Aristegui and Random House said they were notified of the lawsuit on May 29.

"The information in the book has never been questioned," Mr. Cayuela said.

Mr. Vargas sued because of the allegation that he had given way to political pressure, said Felipe Chao, a spokesman for MVS.

"He is asking for what has been published to be proven or publicly retracted," Mr. Chao said in a telephone interview. "It's not about money."

# Syrian Group, U.S.-Backed, Gives ISIS Ultimatum

By JEFFREY MARCUS

Islamic State fighters holed up in one of the militant group's last major strongholds in northern Syria have 48 hours to leave the city, according to an ultimatum issued by the local military council of the United States-supported Syria Democratic Forces.

The two-day window opened after the main Syrian exile opposition group called on the coalition to halt its bombing of militant positions near the city of Manbij after dozens of civilians were reported killed this week in airstrikes by the United States-led coalition.

The Syrian Observatory of Human Rights, based in Britain, has reported that more than 100 civilians have died in airstrikes in the area since late May, when militias supported by the United States and its coalition partners in Syria began an offensive to seize Manbij from the Islamic State, also known as ISIS and ISIL.

On Tuesday, the observatory reported that airstrikes north of Manbij killed at least 56 civilians, including 11 children. A day before, 21 people were killed in raids in the area also believed to have been conducted by coalition aircraft in Manbij.

Kurdish and Arab forces, aided by the airstrikes, have surrounded the city, but have been unable to fully dislodge the Islamic State from the area.

A statement from the Manbij Military Council posted on the Syria Democratic Forces online chat room said that Islamic State fighters, who have been using civilians in Manbij as human shields, will have 48 hours to leave the city with only their light weapons before bombings resume.

The president of the Syrian Opposition Coalition, a political exile group that opposes both the Islamic State and the Syrian government, said that airstrikes should be halted to allow for an investigation into the reported civilian deaths in and around Manbij.

"We believe that such incidents indicate a major loophole in the current operational rules followed by the international coalition in conducting strikes in populated areas," Anas Alabdah, the president of the Syrian Opposition Coalition, said in a letter to the foreign ministers of the countries participating in the military coalition.

He also warned that Syrians besieged by the Islamic State and others besieged by forces loyal to President Bashar al-Assad are suffering, and additional civilian deaths "will only push them further into a spiral of despair and, more importantly, will prove to be a recruitment tool for terrorist organizations."

In a statement, a United States military spokesman, Col. Christopher Garver of the Army, said that the American-led coalition forces had conducted airstrikes near Manbij recently, and that the Pentagon was aware of reports of civilian casualties.

"As with any allegation we receive, we will review any information we have about the incident, including information provided by third parties," Colonel Garver said in the statement. He also said that if it turns out that coalition operations have endangered civilians, "we will then determine the next appropriate step."

The state-run Syrian Arab News Agency had reported on Tuesday that the airstrikes that killed civilians in Manbij may have been carried out by French forces participating in the coalition, and the Syrian Foreign Ministry called on the United Nations secretary general and the Security Council to condemn the coalition strikes.

Reporting was contributed by Anne Barnard and Hwaida Saad from Beirut, Maher Samaan from Paris, and Eric Schmitt from Washington.

# Erdogan Sends a Text Across Turkey, Urging Continued 'Heroic Resistance'

By TIM ARANGO

ISTANBUL — The day after Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, declared a national state of emergency in the wake of a failed coup, an anxious nation awoke on Thursday to a text message from its leader, personally exhorting continued loyalty as the government moved against its enemies.

Urging his supporters to maintain their presence in public squares, where they have flocked each evening since the coup attempt failed, he wrote, "Do not abandon the heroic resistance you have put up for your country, homeland and flag."

Even as Turkish officials were more broadly trying to assure the public on Thursday that individual freedoms would not be threatened by the state of emergency, Mr. Erdogan's message to nationwide cellphone customers struck a more martial tone.

In particular, it carried a thinly veiled threat to a wide section of society that Mr. Erdogan views as his mortal enemy: the followers of Fethullah Gulen, a former ally and Muslim cleric who lives in Pennsylvania and whom the Turkish government has identified as the mastermind of the coup conspiracy. Turkish officials have demanded that the United States extradite him to face justice in Turkey.

In his nationwide text message, Mr. Erdogan cast the nightly gatherings of his supporters in places like Taksim Square, in central Istanbul, as necessary to protect the country from Mr. Gulen.

He wrote: "To teach the traitor, the terrorist" — a reference to Mr. Gulen's following, which the Turkish government calls the Fethullah Terrorist Organization — "a lesson, continue your resistance and duty to guard democracy. The owners of our squares are not tanks, but the people."

In the wake of the failed coup, which plunged the country into chaos after a night of violence that began late Friday, the government has moved quickly to purge from society tens of thousands of people now considered active or potential enemies. Some high-level generals and officers have been arrested on charges of plotting the coup, but thousands of soldiers, judges, teachers, police officers, governors and others either have been detained or have lost their

Ceylan Yeginsu contributed reporting from Istanbul, and Niki Ktsantonis from Athens.



Protesters took up positions on the Republic Monument in Istanbul on Thursday by a picture of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

PETROS GIANNAKOURIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

jobs. All of them, according to the government, have links to Mr. Gulen.

Mr. Gulen has denied any involvement in the coup plot, and insists that his movement within Turkey is peaceful.

Now that Mr. Erdogan has declared a state of emergency, giving the state the power to bypass Parliament and pass laws that could possibly limit individual freedoms and suspend the rule of law for issues like pretrial detentions, many Turks are worried that the purge of suspected enemies will broaden. The concern is that Mr. Erdogan will target any and all opponents, not just those who are suspected of being followers of Mr. Gulen or of being linked to the coup.

On Thursday, many saw a strong signal that that was already happening, as a prominent and widely regarded human rights lawyer, Orhan Kemal Cengiz, was detained in Istanbul, outraging human rights activists. The exact reason for his detention



SAKIS MITROLIDIS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A Greek police officer on Thursday escorted a Turkish officer who had fled to Greece by helicopter after the failed coup.

was unclear, but Mr. Cengiz has been a longtime critic of Mr. Erdogan's government.

"Orhan Kemal Cengiz is a respected human rights lawyer," said Andrew Gardner, the Turkey researcher for Amnesty Interna-

tional. "He's a columnist, and a lot of his work is about human rights issues."

Some speculated that it was Mr. Cengiz's work in the past for newspapers affiliated with Mr. Gulen, like Today's Zaman, seized

this year by the government, that led to his detention. If that was the case, it suggested that the government was using a very wide definition of who may be affiliated with Mr. Gulen.

"He had worked for Today's Zaman and other Gulen-affiliated newspapers," Mr. Gardner said. "But he is in no way pushing editorial lines in his columns that are supportive of Fethullah Gulen."

Mr. Cengiz, who was challenging in court the seizure by the government of Today's Zaman and its Turkish-language sister publication, Zaman, was detained at the airport on his way to London for a conference. Earlier in the week, Turkey effectively barred academics from traveling abroad.

Still, Turkish officials on Thursday moved to assure the public that the state of emergency would not lead to the widespread curtailment of individual freedoms, and that the government would focus only on targeting suspected coup plotters.

"I want to guarantee that funda-

mental rights and freedoms and normal daily life will not be affected by this," Numan Kurtulmus, a deputy prime minister, told reporters in Ankara, the capital.

As required of a member of the Council of Europe, Turkey said it was suspending its participation in the European Convention on Human Rights, as France did after the terrorist attacks in Paris last year.

Officials also sought to contain the economic fallout from Turkey's crisis, even though the value of the Turkish lira has already plunged against the dollar.

"Life of ordinary people and businesses will go unimpacted, uninterrupted, business will be as usual," Mehmet Simsek, a deputy prime minister and former fi-

**Citizens are told a state of emergency will not trample personal freedoms.**

nance minister, said in an interview with NTV, a private broadcaster.

Also on Thursday, a court in Alexandroupolis in northern Greece sentenced eight Turkish military officers who fled to Greece on a helicopter after the failed coup to two months in prison, finding them guilty of illegal entry into the country.

The Turkish officers' sentence was suspended for three years, but the eight were detained pending the outcome of their requests for political asylum in Greece. Turkey has called on Greece to swiftly extradite the officers, who have claimed that they were not involved in the coup but that they fled the country in fear of their lives.

Mr. Erdogan has used the failed coup to whip up the emotions of his religiously conservative base of supporters, representing roughly half the country. That has intensified concerns that the president's provocative language could lead to lasting divisions, and possibly incite more violence.

Earlier in the week, a banner seen flying over Taksim Square, seemingly a message from Erdogan supporters to Mr. Gulen and his followers, promised as much: "We will hang you and your dogs by your own leashes."

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## BEIJING JOURNAL

# Unearthing China's Past at a Market Whose Raffish Air Is a Selling Point

From Page A4

inside a fat tube to hand carry back to Europe.

His best find of the morning was something quite rare: a poster of young Chinese women getting ready for work in the 1950s, a period of poster art when the style was more casual than the high social realism of the Cultural Revolution.

"In the '50s posters you see human beings, not robots," he said. "In the early '50s you even see ugly people. I am always looking for posters with individuality and humanity."

In the more unprepossessing stalls in the outdoor section of the market, books are scattered on the ground in disorderly piles, and vendors sit at the back keeping an eye on their displays from small stools just six inches off the ground.

Ruben Lundgren, a Dutch photographer who has lived in Beijing for a dozen years, scoured the stalls looking for photography books of the last days of the Qing dynasty, the

## A new kind of buyer: The serious and affluent collector.

Kuomintang years, and the various phases of Communist rule.

Many of the books he found illustrate a coffee-table production called "The Chinese Photo-book," published in New York last year by Aperture. It describes and depicts the changing styles of Chinese photo books with many examples from the post-1949 Communist era.

"In the 1980s, after the Cultural Revolution, there was a massive flow of books onto the market," he said. "Libraries that had been closed in the '60s and '70s just pushed books onto the market for very little."

In the past few years, rare books in mint condition have been harder to find at Panjiayuan. The best often get sent to auction, where they fetch higher prices.

Still, on a recent visit Mr. Lundgren uncovered the photo book of the funeral of Premier Zhou Enlai, who died in 1976, a good find because of the more candid style of photography.

At another stall, in the back row of books haphazardly piled on the ground, he unearthed a highly stylized propaganda volume of color photos of Chinese soldiers who served in the Korean War.

Kang Xuesong, a former news photographer, runs a popular shop for old photographs of China called Da Kang Photography Studio. He embarked on a



There is no shortage of memorabilia from the Cultural Revolution, when Mao Zedong's Red Guards were in the vanguard, in a shop in the Exhibition Hall.



Books, coins and Mao-era objects on sale at Panjiayuan. At left, a delivery worker grabbed a nap next to one of the stalls.

new profession 20 years ago as a purveyor of sepia and black-and-white images of Shanghai and Beijing before World War II.

He specializes in photos of

bourgeois families from the 1930s who, dressed in traditional Chinese finery, posed in studios with European backdrops that featured Bugati cars and Art Deco

furniture.

His brisk trade is in the Mao era. Collectors like the nostalgic feel of the photos, he said. From his connections as a news

photographer, Mr. Kang said he knew where to find old file photographs from Xinhua, the state-run agency whose photographers were granted wide access to the leaders of the Communists from the moment they entered Beijing in 1949.

The most valued photographs, Mr. Kang said, were the more

informal ones. A popular image showed a barefoot Mao in a swimsuit in 1954, sitting on the sand with his daughter Li Na and nephew, Mao Yuanxin.

A beach umbrella behind them, they were relaxing at the beach at Beidaihe, the summer resort not far from Beijing. A bargain at \$50, Mr. Kang said.

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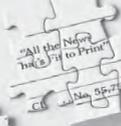
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There is a library for every 1,971 Czech citizens, and one of them is the ornate hall at the Strahov monastery in Prague.

## WHAT IN THE WORLD

# Why Libraries Are Everywhere in the Czech Republic

By HANA de GOEIJ

PRAGUE — In the age of Amazon and the internet, the idea of going to a public library to borrow a book may seem ever

more quaint and old-fashioned in many parts of the world, but one country, at least, is clinging to it tenaciously: the Czech Republic.

There are libraries everywhere you look in the country — it has the densest library network in the world, according to a survey conducted for the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. There are more libraries than grammar schools. In fact, there is one library for every 1,971 Czech citizens, the survey found — four times as many, relative to population, as the average European country, and 10 times as many as the United States, which has one for every 19,583 people.

Why so many Czech libraries? For decades every community was required by law to have one.

The law was enacted in 1919, soon after Czechoslovakia emerged as an independent country. The idea was to promote universal literacy and education after the country was free of the German-speaking Austro-Hungarian Empire. And it worked.

"Czechs developed a strong reading habit, and even today, those who visit libraries buy more books — 11 a year, on average — than others," said Vit Richter, director of the Librarianship Institute of the Czech National Library.

The library law survived the German occupation, the communist era and the breakup with Slovakia in the early 1990s. What it couldn't survive was budgetary pressure. To save money, the

requirement was dropped in 2001, when there were about 6,019 libraries in the country; since then, about 11 percent have merged or closed.

Rather than linger on as an eccentricity from a bygone age, though, the surviving Czech libraries are doing what they can to stay relevant. They serve as polling places for elections and as local meeting venues. They organize reading clubs and art exhibits and offer computer literacy courses, and they welcome droves of schoolchildren and retirees during the day.

But mostly, they do what 92 percent of Czechs still want them to go on doing, according to the Gates Foundation survey: They lend books.



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# Attacker in Nice Plotted for Months and Had Accomplices, Prosecutor Says

By AURELIEN BREEDEN

PARIS — Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel, who killed 84 people in a terrorist attack in Nice, France, last week, planned his assault over several months and got help from at least five people, the Paris prosecutor said on Thursday.

However, although the Islamic State called the attacker one of its “soldiers,” there is as yet no evidence that he or the suspected accomplices had any direct contact with the terrorist network, the prosecutor, François Molins, who handles terrorism investigations in France, said at a news conference in Paris.

Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel, a 31-year-old Tunisian who lived in Nice, drove a cargo truck through crowds that had gathered on the city’s waterfront promenade to watch the Bastille Day fireworks on July 14. He also fired an automatic pistol at the police, before they shot and killed him.

The authorities initially said they believed that Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel, who had not been particularly religious, had become rapidly radicalized over a few weeks before the attack. But on Thursday, Mr. Molins suggested that the attack had been planned for months. Investigators have confirmed “not only the premeditated character” of the attack but also that Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel “benefited from support and complicity in the preparation and carrying out of his criminal act,” Mr. Molins said.

The five suspects, who were arrested in the days after the attack, were to be charged on Thursday evening. Mr. Molins said that the charges would include murder, attempted murder, terrorist conspiracy, and the possession and transportation of weapons.

Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel’s estranged wife was also arrested, but was released without charges on Sunday, as was a man who had been wrongly identified as a suspect, according to Audrey Delaunay, the man’s lawyer.

On Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel’s phone, investigators found pictures of fireworks and of the Nice promenade from last year, as well as an image of an article about Captagon, an amphetamine that has been associated in some news reports with Islamic State fighters. Also on the phone was an image of an article on a Tunisian man killed in January after he tried to attack a police station in Paris.

Mr. Molins also said that investigators had uncovered pictures,



Floral tributes, notes and candles lined a waterfront path in Nice, in memory of the victims of the deadly Bastille Day attack there.

text messages and phone calls that showed he had been in close contact over the past year with three men who are now suspects. The authorities identified them as Ramzi A., 21, a native of Nice and a dual French-Tunisian citizen; Chokri C., 37, a Tunisian born in Sousse, Tunisia; and Mohamed Oualid G., 40, a dual French-Tunisian citizen born in La Marsa, Tunisia.

Mohamed Oualid G. and Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel called each other 1,278 times over the last year. Mohamed Oualid G. sent Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel a text message praising the attack on the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo in January 2015, Mr. Molins said, and investigators found pictures on Mohamed Oualid G.’s phone of the aftermath of the attack in Nice.

Investigators also found pictures on Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel’s phone from July 11 and July 13 of Mohamed Oualid G. in the truck used for the attack, he said.

On April 4, Chokri C. sent Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel a Facebook message advising him to “load the

truck” and to “cut the brakes, my friend, and I’ll watch,” Mr. Molins said. His fingerprints were also found on the truck’s passenger door, and he was recorded by a surveillance camera in the truck beside Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel, on the promenade in Nice, less than three hours before the attack, Mr. Molins said.

A text message sent by Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel to Ramzi A. just minutes before the attack thanked him for an automatic pistol, which he then used to shoot at the police, and “asked for new ones,” Mr. Molins said.

Like Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel, none of the men were known to French intelligence services, Mr. Molins said. Ramzi A. had a criminal record with convictions for theft, violence and drug use between 2013 and 2015.

An Albanian couple — Artan H., 38, and Enkeledja Z., 42, who also holds French citizenship — also face criminal proceedings. They are suspected of having helped Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel obtain the 7.65-millimeter automatic pistol



Police officers patrolled on Thursday in Saint-Malo, France, as lawmakers voted to extend a state of emergency.

that he used.

Questions continued to be raised about security measures in Nice on the night of the attack, which killed not only French citizens who had been celebrating their national holiday, but also people of 19 other nationalities, in-

cluding citizens of Algeria, Brazil, Estonia, Kazakhstan, Madagascar and the United States.

France’s Socialist government has sparred repeatedly with opposing politicians on the right and far right, especially local officials in Nice, over how many national

and municipal officers were securing the promenade on the night of the attack and how they were spread out. The national police answer to the state, whereas municipal officers answer to city authorities.

The newspaper Libération reported on Thursday that only one municipal police car was positioned at the spot where Mr. Lahouaiej Bouhlel barreled through and onto the promenade, and it said that although national and city officials had agreed on — and stuck to — a security plan for Bastille Day, the government had misrepresented those measures after the attack.

Interior Minister Bernard Cazeneuve, while denying that accusation, has ordered an internal police investigation, separate from the continuing judicial one, which will look into the Bastille Day security measures in Nice.

Questions have also been raised about why the authorities did not position heavy obstacles at the entrances to the promenade’s pedestrian area, to block vehicles from entering.

The authorities across France are rushing to strengthen security at the dozens of events over the summer. They have added vehicular barriers at Paris Plages, an annual event that turns sections of the Seine’s embankments into artificial beaches, and have canceled events like an open-air film festival and a pedestrian day on the Champs-Élysées.

On Thursday, the French Parliament also passed a bill extending for an additional six months the state of emergency that was declared after the November attacks that killed 130 people in and around Paris. It grants the French authorities extraordinary policing powers, such as the ability to carry out police raids or place people under house arrest without a judge’s authorization.

The latest extension, which would last until the end of January, would make this state of emergency the longest since the 1950s.

In addition, legislation passed on Thursday gives the government new powers. For example, under the state of emergency, the police will be allowed to seize computers and phones and copy the data on them without prior judicial authorization. And from now on, the government will be able to place a person returning from Syria or Iraq under house arrest for up to three months instead of one.

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EQUAL HOUSING  
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Donald Trump Jr., at the Republican National Convention on Monday, has played the enforcer in his father's campaign, denouncing Corey Lewandowski, a former campaign manager, as "bitter."

## New Celebrities Emerge in Cleveland: Trump's Children

By ASHLEY PARKER  
and MICHAEL BARBARO

CLEVELAND — "Tiffany! Tiffany!" a middle-aged Republican delegate yelled to Donald J. Trump's 22-year-old daughter on the floor of the Republican National Convention Wednesday night. "You were amazing last night," he said of her speech.

She smiled, cocked her head gratefully and thanked him.

On the streets outside the convention, a young woman approached Ivanka Trump, Mr. Trump's 34-year-old daughter, to ask for a selfie with her, which the woman instantly posted on Instagram. "Week. Just. Made," the woman enthused in a caption under the photograph.

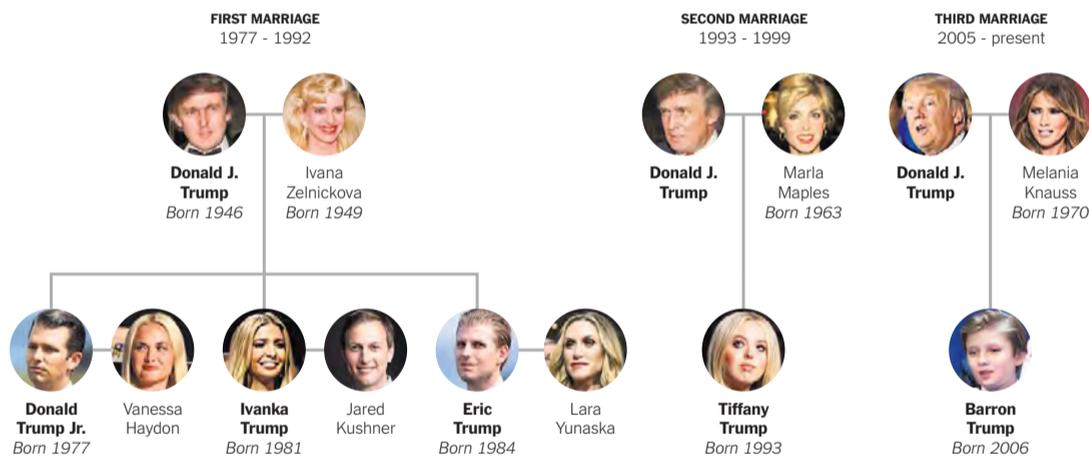
And on the floor of Quicken Loans Arena, a man playfully asked Eric Trump, Mr. Trump's 32-year-old son, for a bottle of his family's wine. "That's what everyone needs," Mr. Trump replied playfully. "More wine."

Donald J. Trump may be the nominee, but here in Cleveland, his children are the attraction. Amid a sometimes chaotic convention — punctuated by a delegate rebellion and plagiarism in the speech by the candidate's wife — they are redefining the traditional role of a candidate's children and emerging as celebrities in their own right.

"They're mainly the reason why everyone is here," said Alisha Curtis, 31, who works in the Arkansas governor's office and stopped Ivanka Trump on the street Wednesday for a photo that she then blasted out over social media. "I'm very impressed with his children in general."

Acting as a political SWAT team, the Trumps have arrived here with different, but

**Trump Family Tree** Donald Trump has five children from his three marriages. His first two marriages ended in divorce.



THE NEW YORK TIMES

complementary missions.

Ivanka Trump has played the ambassador, personally meeting with Sheldon Adelson, the billionaire Republican donor, whose willingness to open his wallet for her father could prove crucial in the general election this fall. Many doubted he would ever back Mr. Trump.

Donald Trump Jr., 38, has played the enforcer, denouncing Corey Lewandowski, his father's former campaign manager, as a "bitter" figure who is out to hurt his father's bid for the White House. "Enough is enough," he thundered.

And Tiffany Trump has played the validator, divulging rare personal details about her father's style of parenting, like his habit of jotting handwritten notes across her high school report cards.

The attention they have drawn, flattering and relentless, has caught the Trump siblings off guard. "After November, if I never take a selfie again, it will be too soon," Donald Trump Jr. said with a laugh in a telephone interview here on Wednesday.

But the affection from strangers, he added, was deeply humbling. "It is an honor," he said.

It is a complicated role for a complicated family. Mr. Trump has five children from three marriages: Donald Jr., Ivanka, and Eric with his first wife, Ivana Trump; Tiffany with his second, Marla Maples; and 10-year-old Barron with his current wife, Melania Trump.

The three oldest Trump children, Donald Jr., Ivanka and Eric, hold executive positions at the Trump Organization, their father's real estate company, while Tiffany just graduated

from the University of Pennsylvania, her father's alma mater. Together, they are perhaps their father's most powerful messengers — successful, attractive, eloquent figures who lack his hard-edge style and pugilistic instincts.

Mr. Trump, by his children's own admission, was not always a hands-on father. "I don't know what it's like to have a typical father figure," Tiffany Trump once told an interviewer. "He's not the dad who's going to take me to the beach and go swimming, but he's such a motivational person."

But in Cleveland over the past few days, Mr. Trump's adult children and son-in-law, Jared Kushner — who make up his political cabinet — are his unwavering cheerleaders and uni-

Continued on Page A12

## Clinton Expected to Choose Virginia Senator as Her Running Mate

By AMY CHOZICK

Democrats close to Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign signaled strongly Thursday that she would choose Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia as her running mate, rounding out the ticket with a popular politician from a battleground state.

Both former President Bill Clinton and the White House have expressed their support for Mr. Kaine, but aides cautioned that Mrs. Clinton had not yet made a final decision and that other candidates were still under consideration.

Mrs. Clinton is widely expected to announce her choice in an email to supporters while on a campaign swing in Florida on Friday afternoon, an attempt to regain momentum the day after her Republican opponent, Donald J. Trump, accepted his party's nomination in Cleveland. With Mr. Kaine emerging as a clear favorite, one group already expressed disappointment at the prospect of the former governor of Virginia joining the ticket: liberals.

Many of the groups that backed Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont in his

Democratic contest against Mrs. Clinton had hoped she would extend an olive branch to the liberal wing of the party and choose a vice-presidential candidate whose stances on Wall Street and global trade deals closely aligned with those of

**Liberals were hoping for someone with appeal for Sanders supporters.**

Mr. Sanders.

But with the Democratic National Convention beginning in Philadelphia on Monday, the prospects have dimmed for the two liberal senators who were being considered, Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts and Sherrod Brown of Ohio. That has led to more liberal scrutiny of Mr. Kaine's record.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign has kept a tight lid on its search for a vice-presiden-

tial candidate. A spokeswoman for the campaign declined to comment. An aide to Ms. Warren planned to meet with Mrs. Clinton's campaign manager, Robby Mook, on Thursday afternoon to discuss how they could work together, which was interpreted by some people with knowledge of the process as a sign that Mrs. Clinton had settled on a choice.

Liberals say they are concerned about Mr. Kaine's positions on global trade deals and Wall Street regulation. He has been an outspoken advocate of free trade and has defended the North American Free Trade Agreement, which many voters in Rust Belt states blame for the loss of manufacturing jobs to Mexico. He voted in support of "fast track" authority for the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a 12-nation trade pact that President Obama has championed.

Two others under consideration, Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack and Labor Secretary Thomas E. Perez, also supported the Trans-Pacific Partnership. But Mr. Perez, who is popular among labor unions, has criticized Nafta, which

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ZACH GIBSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia, on Capitol Hill last month, is considered to have the foreign policy credentials Hillary Clinton was seeking.

## ELECTION 2016

## NEWS ANALYSIS

## Envisioning Trump's Foreign Policy: The U.S. Steps Back

By DAVID E. SANGER

CLEVELAND — Donald J. Trump, in a wide-ranging interview with The New York Times here on Wednesday, outlined an approach to the use of American power that was decidedly unconventional — especially for the Republican Party, which has long favored an internationalist approach to foreign policy.

Here is a look at some of Mr. Trump's statements and what it would mean for the United States and the world if his policies took effect.

## On NATO

Mr. Trump said that if NATO members were not “paying their bills,” they should not expect the United States to automatically come to their aid. He suggested that he would review member contributions to the alliance and that “if they fulfill their obligations to us, the answer is yes.”

That answer sent some United States allies — already fearful that the country was turning inward — into something of a panic. In their view, an alliance is an alliance, not a protection racket.

The secretary general of NATO, Jens Stoltenberg, issued

a mildly worded objection, but others were more direct about the implications of Mr. Trump's formula.

“The NATO treaty is crystal clear on this one: An attack on one nation shall be regarded as an attack on all of them,” wrote James G. Stavridis, the former supreme allied commander of NATO who is now the dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. Writing for Foreign Policy magazine, he said this commitment “is the absolute bedrock of NATO and the linchpin of the postwar security infrastructure that has bound Western democracies to one another.”

Mr. Stavridis also argued that Mr. Trump's policy would be “deeply destabilizing” because it would remove a key deterrent for Vladimir V. Putin, Russia's president. Mr. Putin has already tinkered with “hybrid war” — including nonuniformed forces and cyberattacks — in Ukraine, and if he believed that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania could not count on American support, he might be tempted to test the bounds of NATO's security guarantees.

## On Deploying Troops

Posting American troops in “forward deployed” positions

around the world is nice, Mr. Trump said, but very expensive. “If we ever felt there was a reason to defend the United States, we can always deploy” from American soil, he said.

The question here is what's cheaper — and what's wiser. To Mr. Trump, keeping American forces at home is part of the “America First” philosophy: They would be more focused on homeland defense and less likely to get involved in conflicts abroad that drain money, and power, from the American military. But at the Pentagon, most officers and political appointees view that as pre-World War II thinking and argue that forward-deployed troops are crucial to national security.

The “freedom of navigation” tours that American forces take through the South China Sea are supposed to be a reminder to the Chinese that there could be a price to expanding the area they argue is sovereign Chinese territory and reclaiming reefs to build military installations. It would be hard to do those from home. The United States launches drones — and keeps a store of 50 nuclear weapons — at the American base in Incirlik, Turkey. The naval base in Bahrain runs patrols to keep

Iran from choking off oil routes. And troops based in South Korea, Japan, Germany and Africa train with local forces.

When a tsunami hit Indonesia and earthquakes struck China and Pakistan, American forces in the Pacific delivered emergency supplies. And it was Republicans who complained that when the Benghazi attack happened in 2012, American forces were too far from Libya to help.

As for cost, there is some question of which approach would save more money. Japan, for example, pays such a large percentage of the cost of housing troops that the Pentagon has long argued it would be more expensive to bring them home.

## On Trade

Mr. Trump doesn't like the North American Free Trade Agreement and never has. His approach to dealing with it, he said, would be to renegotiate it, or “I would pull out of Nafta in a split second.”

Nafta is deeply unpopular, and in part, economists say, that is because jobs leave the country en masse. (Mr. Trump often refers to the Carrier air-conditioning plant that is shutting down and moving 1,400 jobs out of the country.) But when jobs

are created in the United States, it is often hard to say whether that is because of a trade deal or just an improvement in business.

As a practical matter, no one knows what withdrawing from Nafta would mean — just as no one knows what “Brexit” means for Britain and the rest of Europe. Unwinding a huge trade agreement, and the rules that have governed tariffs, movement across borders and adjudication of disputes, would be enormously complicated. And doing so could be costly: United States businesses would lose easy access to the Mexican and Canadian markets, along with preferential treatment on investments there. But Mr. Trump insists he could negotiate a far better deal.

## On Shaping Other Nations

Messing around inside another country's borders? Not for Mr. Trump. He has a more traditional view of how American power should be exercised.

For decades, one of the unspoken traditions of American foreign policy was that intervention ended at another country's borders — unless that country posed an imminent threat to the United States. Over the decades, the United States had lots of allies and partners who were strong-

men — in the Philippines, South Korea, Iran, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere — but didn't interfere with their internal politics.

That changed over the past 20 or so years as the United States began to intervene, sometimes on humanitarian grounds. That was the basis of the Balkan conflict, and the American and European intervention in Libya in 2011. But Mr. Trump seems determined to turn that around: In his discussion of last week's coup attempt in Turkey, he spoke admiringly of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan for the way he put down the military uprising, but Mr. Trump offered no warnings that Mr. Erdogan needed to obey the rule of law in what appeared to be a huge purge and a declaration of emergency powers.

In short, Mr. Trump wants to take American values out of its relationship with other nations and not seek to transform their actions. That would be a huge change in American foreign policy and could well signal to the world's authoritarians that they had a free pass — to imprison dissidents, torture opponents and ignore human rights standards without fear that their relationship with the United States would suffer.

## POLITICAL MEMO

## Cruz Gambled on Redefining 2020 Race, but Critics See Betrayal

By JENNIFER STEINHAEUER and MATT FLEGENHEIMER

CLEVELAND — Senator Ted Cruz of Texas did not come here this week to unite Republicans around their presidential nominee, Donald J. Trump. Armed with his usual arsenal of florid oratory, self-regard and blunt force, he came instead to rally them, someday, around Ted Cruz.

He failed, at least for the moment. And in the process, he managed to do the unthinkable — make Mr. Trump look like a victim.

Determined to be more than just another speaker and looking beyond the November election, Mr. Cruz worked with aides for weeks to fashion a speech that they hoped would define him beyond his failed 2016 quest for the White House and advance his image beyond Tea Party upstart to a modern version of his idol, Ronald Reagan.

He offered lofty paeans on Wednesday to an America that included gays and atheists and where heroism was displayed not just by service members fighting terrorism on the front lines but also by the forgiving families of those killed last year at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, S.C. He spoke to a broader audience of Americans that many have accused Republicans of ignoring.

But then he twisted the knife in Mr. Trump's back, suggesting that the leadership of that America should not fall to the man his party had come to nominate.

Mr. Cruz is clearly gambling that Mr. Trump is likely to lose, perhaps embarrassingly, and that when he does Mr. Cruz will emerge as the strongest spokesman for the Republican Party's core conservative principles. As the only contender to even put a dent in Mr. Trump's support, and with a fully operational campaign apparatus still in place, he may be the best positioned out of the gate in 2020.

But for now, it appears that Mr. Cruz's raw ambition — which fueled his audacious 2012 Senate primary victory over his state's lieutenant governor, the disastrous government shut-down he led a year later and his subsequent attacks on the Republicans who did not support it — has backfired.

In the cold light of morning Thursday, Mr. Cruz found himself facing down furious delegates from his own state at a public breakfast, who told him he needed to back Mr. Trump now.

“Do it!” one shouted during a blistering 25-minute question-and-answer session. “Do it now!” Mr. Cruz resisted in his usual manner, saying he refused to be a “servile puppy dog.” He put the blame for his disloyalty on Mr. Trump's repeated attacks on his family during the primaries.

Former admirers and his congressional colleagues took to television to criticize him, at times with profane language, the way his Senate colleagues have been doing for years behind closed doors. “Lucifer is back,”

Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Martin contributed reporting.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC THAYER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above and left, Ted Cruz spoke to Republican delegates from Texas at a breakfast in Cleveland on Thursday. Some delegates applauded him, but others were angry and demanded that he back Donald J. Trump. A handful left as he spoke. Mr. Cruz said he refused to be a “servile puppy dog.”



cracked the former House speaker, John A. Boehner, who was watching the convention with his wife and friends, according to an aide.

“He really betrayed what our mission is here, which is to win in November,” said Nicholas A. Langworthy, a delegate from New York and chairman of the Erie County party, who helped lead the chorus of boos that followed Mr. Cruz off the stage. “He should just go back to Texas,” Mr. Langworthy said. “He slit his own throat. He is finished in national Republican politics.”

Representative Charlie Dent, a Pennsylvania Republican who has himself been critical of Mr. Trump, had harsh words for Mr. Cruz after his Wednesday remarks.

“Senator's Cruz's opposition is not based in principle but entirely personal, which is interesting given his sniveling, obsequi-

ous and fawning defense of Trump early in the primary campaign,” Mr. Dent said. “I suspect many Americans learned a lot about Ted Cruz last night and now better understand why so many in Congress harbor bitter feelings toward the junior senator from Texas.”

Hours before Mr. Cruz's highly anticipated speech on Wednesday evening, his former campaign manager, Jeff Roe, received a call from Jason Miller, a former Cruz aide now advising Mr. Trump. Mr. Miller informed the Cruz team that “Mr. Trump would really appreciate” and “would remember it” if Mr. Cruz endorsed him in the speech, Mr. Roe said. “I hear you,” Mr. Roe told him.

When the speech was sent out a short while later, nothing had changed: There was still no endorsement.

As Mr. Cruz prepared to address supporters at an outdoor

bar that afternoon, Mr. Roe suggested that the Trump campaign would have little to object to. “I think they'll be pleased with the speech,” he told reporters, interrupting his news conference briefly when a call from Paul Manafort, the Trump campaign chairman, came in. Mr. Roe was asked if Mr. Cruz's speech would focus more on himself than on Mr. Trump. “Self-aggrandizing is not really his shtick,” Mr. Roe said to the reporters.

Mr. Trump's aides were provided with a copy of Mr. Cruz's remarks two hours before he gave them, both sides said, and were then outraged to see that not only would Mr. Cruz not endorse Mr. Trump, but that he would suggest pointedly that Republicans should feel no obligation to vote for Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump and his aides briefly considered bumping Mr. Cruz from the lineup, but quickly concluded that that would bring more controversy to a convention that had been battered enough. Mr. Cruz and Mr. Trump expected the speech to generate an angry reaction, but both sides were unprepared for its intensity.

As Mr. Trump's children looked on in silence, Mr. Cruz read from a teleprompter, at first in lofty phrases that referred to the civil rights movement, the killing of police officers in recent weeks and one victim of a police shooting. He spoke of the inherent constitutional rights of all Americans, including gays and

atheists.

But when Mr. Cruz used the code phrase “vote your conscience” — which in congressional terms means go against your leaders — he was met with boisterous boos and hisses from the crowd, led by the New York delegation a few feet away. One delegate said that some people on the floor were reduced to tears because of their disappointment and fury.

Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader, sat watching the speeches from a skybox in the arena, realizing that prime time America was now watching an “Apprentice” style version of what he and his Republican colleagues had suffered through on the Senate floor, where Mr. Cruz once called him a liar.

House Speaker Paul D. Ryan was backstage with Mike Pence, the governor of Indiana, whom he would soon introduce as the Republican nominee for vice president, whose appropriate but mild remarks would be completely overshadowed by Mr. Cruz's spectacle.

As Mr. Cruz slunk from the stage and Mr. Trump's son Eric took the lectern, Mr. Trump's aides sought out Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker, who was slated to speak after Mr. Trump's son.

“I don't think they realized how strong the reaction was going to be,” Mr. Gingrich said.

“They came to me and said: ‘We need to get closure here. Let's talk it through.’”

They decided Mr. Gingrich would rebut Mr. Cruz by directly praising Mr. Trump. “I sat down with the senior editor of the teleprompter while Eric was speaking, and over those 12 minutes they were able to reload my remarks,” Mr. Gingrich said.

Mr. Cruz tried to repair to the luxury convention suite of the Las Vegas casino magnate and Republican donor Sheldon Adelson, but he was turned away like a freshman tossed out of a senior keg party. Andy Abboud, a top aide to Mr. Adelson, told Mr. Cruz he was not welcome there, according to two people in the suite who witnessed the exchange.

“Nobody's ever done in America,” Mr. Gingrich said. (He should know.) Mr. Cruz clearly agrees. After his dismissal from Mr. Adelson's event, Mr. Cruz found a friendlier face. He went directly to the Ritz a few blocks away for drinks with Andrew F. Puzder, the California-based chief executive of Hardee's and Carl's Jr. and a major Republican donor who raised cash for Mr. Cruz's campaign.

Before long, Mr. Roe said, Mr. Cruz retired to his hotel room, keeping a lingering eye on his Twitter feed. After 1 a.m., a fundraising email for his Senate campaign flooded email inboxes. Subject line: “Our fight goes on.”

# Outliers From Washington: Gay Delegates in Sea of Social Conservatives

By JEREMY W. PETERS

CLEVELAND — Tucked into a remote corner of the Quicken Loans Arena, behind Puerto Rico and next to the spillover seats for Texas, were the 19 delegates for the District of Columbia. The delegation, packed with city-dwelling lawyers and lobbyists and representing a Democratic stronghold, is always an outlier at a Republican National Convention.

But this year, the delegation bore a little-noticed distinction that set it far, and somewhat awkwardly, apart from the rest: It was the gayest group in the hall. More than one-third of Washington's delegates — seven of the 19 — are gay or lesbian.

More than most, they can attest that this has not been the best week to be gay and Republican.

The party voted on Monday to adopt what supporters and detractors have described as the most socially conservative platform ever. It includes multiple disapproving passages on gay rights, gay parenthood and transgender issues.

Delegates rejected efforts to add even the blandest platform language on gays, such as acknowledging that they are targets of the Islamic State or that the Republican Party condemns discrimination of gays.

The Democratic Party platform has called for general civil rights for gay men and lesbians since 1980.

When Newt Gingrich mentioned on Wednesday night that gays, lesbians and transgender people were executed by Islamic extremists, he was met with scat-

tered heckling in the convention hall.

The palpable unease over gays and gay rights loomed over a highly anticipated speech on Thursday night by Peter Thiel, the Silicon Valley software developer, who declared from the lectern: "I am proud to be gay. I am proud to be a Republican. But most of all, I am proud to be an American."

After his announcement, there were no obvious signs of unease. Delegates around the arena rose and applauded, some chanting: "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!"

Later Thursday night, Donald J. Trump dedicated himself to protecting gay and transgender rights. When the crowd broke into applause he said, "As a Republican, it is so nice to hear you cheering."

But displays like those were not the norm this week.

"The party is becoming more and more narrow and more and more spiteful," said Christian Berle, an environmental policy analyst and one of the seven gay delegates from the District of Columbia. He added that he was struggling more than ever with why he remained a Republican as many of his friends left the party. "I ask myself that question every day," he said.

Mr. Thiel's appearance may offer Washington's delegation a little solace. But the limited history of gay speakers at the Republican convention is probably not comforting.

When Jim Kolbe, a gay congressman from Arizona, addressed the convention in 2000, he spoke about trade policy, making



ERIC THAYER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Facing the camera from left, gay and lesbian members of the District of Columbia's delegation to the convention: Rachel Hoff, Bob Kabel, Jill Homan, Greg Nelson and José Cunningham.

no mention of being gay or of gay rights. But that did not stop delegates from Texas, home of the nominee, Gov. George W. Bush, from removing their hats, bowing their heads and praying in a silent protest.

Rick Perry, the state's lieutenant governor at the time, explained their actions by saying, "Guess any time is a good time for prayer."

But to those from the nation's capital, such rejection is rare, making the events of this week all

the more stinging.

Rachel Hoff became the first openly gay person to serve on the party's platform committee. She introduced amendment after amendment that tried to soften some of the harder-line language on homosexuality and gave an emotional speech in which she urged her fellow delegates "to include me and people like me."

"My standing in the D.C. Republican Party isn't threatened at all by this," she said in an interview. "It's actually enhanced."

And as she worked unsuccessfully to convince other Republicans in Cleveland that she was taking up a cause that was in the party's long-term interest, she said, she detected some sympathy and concern. "I'd say the most common thing I heard was, 'Thank you for being here and please don't leave our party,'" she said.

Like many gay Republicans from Washington, Ms. Hoff, a defense analyst, votes primarily on national security issues.

## The Trumps Emerge As Convention Celebrities

From Page A10

fied defenders.

Donald Trump Jr. traveled to a suburb of Cleveland on Tuesday morning to mingle with delegates from Pennsylvania over breakfast, doing his best to relate to them: He recalled attending prep school and college in their state and described his love of hunting in its woods.

"He was basically saying he's one of us and understands the values of Pennsylvania," said Marc Scaringi, a delegate who attended the event.

Eric Trump has participated in meetings here about how his father's White House would operate and who would hold top positions in his cabinet.

And between television interviews, the three oldest children personally thanked early supporters of their father, including Gov. Asa Hutchinson of Arkansas, providing crucial face time when Mr. Trump was traveling outside Cleveland. (Mr. Trump likes to return home every night, and Melania Trump has proved a reluctant campaigner).

"My father can't be everywhere at all times," Donald Trump Jr. said, explaining that he and his siblings are "able to show up and go places and meet with people who have been instrumental in the campaign."

"We want to show them the respect and give them the time they deserve," he said.

Their powerful place in the campaign is not lost on Republican Party leaders. On Wednesday

Nicholas Fandos, Trip Gabriel and Jeremy W. Peters contributed reporting.



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Members of the Trump family, including, from left, Lara Yunaska; her husband, Eric Trump; Ivanka Trump; and Vanessa Trump, the wife of Donald Trump Jr.

night, Reince Priebus, the Republican National Committee chairman, accompanied the siblings between the convention hall and their hotel and introduced them to prominent donors and leaders.

The family's tight bond has been on full display all week. In the lobby of their hotel, the laughing and chatting siblings were so consumed by each other they did

not notice when their father's running mate, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana — dripping with sweat after a pre-speech workout — walked right by them and back into the elevators.

The Trump children are not above the age-old political ritual of acting as visual props — providing a Kennedyesque tableau for television networks to replay

throughout the day. On Wednesday, Mr. Trump's children and their spouses gathered with Mr. Pence to welcome their dad back to Cleveland. As the Republican nominee's Trump-branded helicopter kicked up a swirling wind, his family stood in a line clapping, before walking out to greet him, processionlike, as cameras clicked away.

But even when they are sitting mute on the convention floor, they exhibit a kind of magnetic pull.

Not even celebrities can resist it. CNN's top on-air political reporter, Dana Bash, approached them on Wednesday night, holding up a cellphone camera to reveal her son at home, live on screen. She wanted to show him the Trumps.

Not long after, a Montana delegate named Terra Pierce negotiated her way past security guards to get a glimpse of the children and show off her Ivanka Trump-branded leather sandals.

"Her name is on them," Ms. Pierce explained, pointing to her feet.

The Trump children, she said, "are such a class act."

## Clinton Is Expected to Choose Senator From Virginia as Her Running Mate

From Page A10

Mr. Trump has called "a disaster." After praising the Trans-Pacific Partnership as secretary of state, Mrs. Clinton has recently said as a candidate, "I don't believe it's going to meet the high bar I've set" on protecting American workers, the environment and other issues.

About 60 percent of voters said trade with other countries caused job losses in the United States, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News poll. Mr. Trump has a slight edge over Mrs. Clinton on the question of who voters consider better poised to tackle the trade issue.

Putting Mr. Kaine on the ticket "could be disastrous for our efforts to defeat Donald Trump in the fall" because of his support of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, said Charles Chamberlain, executive director of Democracy for

America, a liberal political action committee.

Mr. Kaine, the son of a welder who owned a small metalworking shop in a Kansas City suburb,

**A long record of support for trade pacts creates hesitation on the left.**

could help Mrs. Clinton attract white male voters and independents. Those voters may prove more critical to her chances in November than the young liberal voters who backed Mr. Sanders in the primaries.

As governor of Virginia, Mr. Kaine appealed to both Democrats in urban pockets and

independents in rural areas, and established a reputation as a pragmatic consensus builder. "He'd appeal to people in the Midwest because that's his roots," said Carl Tobias, a law professor at the University of Richmond. And Mr. Tobias said Virginians across political lines considered him "a thoroughly decent and honest person."

Mr. Sanders endorsed Mrs. Clinton this month, declaring she is "far and away the best candidate." And while polls suggest that most of his supporters plan to vote for her in November, some surveys suggest that only a small fraction of them will do so enthusiastically and that Mrs. Clinton remains unpopular with independents.

"Hillary Clinton's vice-presidential pick will be seen by many as a proxy for how she will govern — boldly, or cautiously?" said Stephanie Taylor, a co-founder of the Progressive Change Cam-



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hillary Clinton, speaking in Las Vegas on Tuesday, is seeking ways of attracting Bernie Sanders supporters, among others.

paign Committee. She referred to the army of small-dollar donors who fueled Mr. Sanders's candidacy, adding, "The wrong pick

could deflate energy among potential donors and volunteers, hurting Democratic efforts to win the White House."

No running mate can please every demographic and constituency. Senator Cory Booker, also in the running for the No. 2 spot, supported Gov. Chris Christie's push in New Jersey to expand charter schools and implement merit-based pay for teachers. Those positions made him deeply unpopular among the teachers' unions who have been among Mrs. Clinton's most loyal supporters.

On Thursday, Mr. Booker, speaking from the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, defended Mrs. Clinton and derided Mr. Trump as "someone who has been so indiscriminate with his demeaning and degrading language." Asked about the prospect of Mr. Kaine on the Democratic ticket, Mr. Booker praised his Senate colleague. "Tim Kaine is one of the most honorable people I've met in all of politics."

## ELECTION 2016



PHOTOGRAPHS BY WHITNEY CURTIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Protesters in Cleveland on Thursday at a march organized by the political action committee Stand Together Against Trump.

## Outside the Hall, the Demonstrators Keep the Peace

By COLIN MOYNIHAN  
and MATT FLEGENHEIMER

CLEVELAND — The final evening of the Republican National Convention passed with little tumult among protesters and the police, capping a week in which predictions of wide-scale unrest on the streets were well off the mark.

While the city's public protesting hubs were hardly empty — it was still a national political convention — there was little evidence as the night neared its end that the nomination of Donald J. Trump had prompted any unusual flaring of the violence and fractiousness that has at times pocked his campaign rallies.

As Mr. Trump prepared to deliver his acceptance speech inside the Quicken Loans Arena, the mood among protesters nearby was actually festive.

At 9 p.m., more than 100 people marched around the perimeter of a public square chanting "love trumps hate," as clusters of police officers stood in groups, chatting, more relaxed than they had been earlier in the day.

Some people frolicked among the water jets in the middle of the square. Others paraded around them, forming a conga line and dancing to drums and tam-



Mounted police officers watched over demonstrators who gathered at Public Square in Cleveland on Thursday.

bourines.

By the time Mr. Trump took the stage over an hour later, the square was largely bare. Most of the remaining protesters had moved to a nearby grassy area, where some watched a feed of the speech on their cellphones, listening through headphones.

Several protesters acknowledged that the demonstrations had not drawn the numbers that many had expected. But Jake Ellis, 25, from Oxford, Ohio, said that

he thought the protests had served a purpose.

"I think the conversations we had with people made them think," he said, wearing a "Black Lives Matter" button and carrying a sign that read, "Make America Hate Again."

The week was not entirely tension-free. Hundreds of police officers have kept close guard on the demonstrations this week, using their bicycles and horses as a means of crowd control, as other

officers kept apart opposing groups of protesters so that arguments did not flare into violence.

The most striking encounter unfolded Wednesday afternoon, when officers arrested 18 people after some of them burned an American flag near the site of the convention. Soon after the flag was set aflame, the police called for assistance and officers, swarming the area on foot, bicycle and horseback, began handcuffing demonstrators.

On Thursday, there appeared to be few major run-ins.

Hours before Mr. Trump took the stage, throngs of marchers filled the heart of downtown Cleveland, accusing Mr. Trump of posing a danger to the country's future.

One of the largest protests was organized by Stand Together Against Trump, a political action committee formed after it became apparent that Mr. Trump would become the Republican Party nominee.

"I'm against Trump because of all the remarks he has made about women, about Mexicans, about disabled people," Doreen Suzich, 57, from Cleveland, said as protesters gathered. "He is spreading hate and making people turn against each other."

## Big G.O.P. Donors Find a Place in Trump's New World

From Page A1

ture projects and military spending in the first hundred days of a Trump administration.

"It is the business of Washington," said Michael J. Anderson, a Democratic lobbyist who represents American Indian tribes, after watching Mr. Gingrich speak. "Mr. Trump is talking about changing the paradigm. It's not changing one bit. The political and influence class is going on as before."

In Cleveland, even some of those who had worked against Mr. Trump's candidacy now saw opportunity.

In dozens of private receptions, behind a scrim of barricades and police officers, they inspected their party's new Trump faction with curiosity and hope. There were spheres of influence to carve out. There was money to raise and money to be made, whether or not Mr. Trump ended up in the White House. There were new friends to make and old relationships to nurture.

"This is an event like no other — there are governors, senators, members of Congress," said Eric J. Tanenblatt, a longtime ally of the Bush family whose law firm, Dentons, hosted Mr. Gingrich's remarks on Tuesday. "For people who operate in and around government, you can't not be here."

And so, far above the din of protesters and delegates, on the 49th floor of the Key Tower, Squire Patton Boggs, a lobbying and legal powerhouse, held packed receptions honoring Ohio and Florida officials. Not far away, Mike Leavitt, the former Utah governor turned consultant for pharmaceutical companies and health insurers, was scheduled to lead a panel on policies to spur the development of prescription drugs. As Speaker Paul D. Ryan helped tamp down anti-Trump efforts on the convention floor, his political operation ran a daily series of receptions and hospitality lounges for members of the "Speaker's Council," the top donors to House Republicans.

"You have these two worlds colliding a little bit here," said David



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Newt Gingrich, a convention speaker on Wednesday, had encouraged Republican lobbyists on Tuesday night.

Tamasi, a lobbyist at the firm Rasky Baerlein and a top Republican fund-raiser on K Street, who joined Mr. Trump's team after his preferred candidate, Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey, went down to defeat. "That's what's going to be interesting: How do the establishment guys make those folks feel at home?"

They are doing so, in part, by footing the bill.

While some of the party's elite donors have shunned Mr. Trump's coronation this week, they are still paying for it. Roughly 500 wealthy Republicans poured close to \$16 million into the Republican National Committee's convention account leading up to this week, according to disclosures made to the Federal Election Commission through last Friday. The biggest donors, giving more than \$100,000 each, are also a veritable roll call of the stop-Trump movement, among them the billionaire investor Paul E. Singer and Marlene Ricketts, who bankrolled early efforts to deny Mr. Trump the nomination.

Mr. Singer did not attend, though his political advisers made the rounds in Cleveland, as did representatives for other megadonors who remain opposed to Mr. Trump. And there were growing signs that at least some of the party's biggest givers were

warming to him: Co-hosts of Monday's super PAC reception at the Ritz-Carlton included Harold Hamm, a billionaire oil tycoon and former energy adviser to Mitt Romney, and Stanley Hubbard, a Minnesota television station owner and prominent donor.

Among the guests was Foster Friess, the Wyoming-based mutual fund investor and super PAC donor, who expressed optimism at his party's prospects. "I think it could be a landslide," Mr. Friess said in an interview. "Donald Trump has the ability to reach all the plumbers and carpenters and factory workers who usually vote Democratic."

Mr. Trump, of course, remains unpopular among many Republican donors, and it is unclear how many will ultimately open their wallets to help fund his campaign. Some events were more sparsely attended than they would have been four years ago, Republicans said. It was a little easier to get tickets to concerts in Cleveland, a little easier to get bumped up to the premium hotel rooms.

And there is no question that Mr. Trump's blasts against unfettered trade and Wall Street banks have unsettled powerful business interests — and are now, to some extent, reflected in the party's own DNA. In recent days, Trump activists have helped install new

planks in the party platform calling for tougher trade negotiations and for reinstating the Glass-Steagall Act, the Depression-era law that walled commercial banking off from investment banking.

Yet those same power brokers won a more consequential victory even before the convention started, when Mr. Trump's team helped them quash a rule proposed by some conservative delegates that would have banned lobbyists from serving as Republican National Committee members. The proposal by supporters of Senator Ted Cruz of Texas pitted Tea Party conservatives against the party's business wing; the conservative delegates were soundly defeated.

"It is disappointing," said Mary Anne Kinney, a New Hampshire state representative and Cruz delegate, who was among those who pushed for the ban. "Some of us had heard things that maybe Donald Trump was not a fan of the lobbyists. They are not always for the interest of the people."

In fact, many of them are for the interests of Mr. Trump, at least this week. Among the floor whips prowling the convention floor in Cleveland in neon yellow baseball caps, managing and corralling delegates, were a number of volunteers from Washington government affairs firms or Capitol Hill. Many had supported other candidates during the primary. Now they were working for their party's nominee.

One of them was Robert Hoffman, a Republican lobbyist at Heather Podesta and Partners. Earlier in the week, the firm hosted a barbecue brunch for friends and delegates, where Mr. Hoffman and his colleagues handed out "Make Lobbying Great Again" stickers.

Mr. Hoffman seemed to see Mr. Trump's policy agenda more in terms of possibilities than threats. The convention, he noted, was a chance to learn more about Mr. Trump's still-vague plans, and perhaps to help shape them.

"We want to be a sounding board," Mr. Hoffman said. "Not just for our clients, but for our campaign."

## CONVENTION NOTEBOOK

### Silicon Valley Anomaly Becomes More of One

By JEREMY W. PETERS

Peter Thiel, the Silicon Valley entrepreneur declared "I am proud to be gay" in a speech on Thursday night, making him the first person believed to utter those words from the stage of a Republican National Convention.

Mr. Thiel's remarks came about an hour before Donald J. Trump spoke, one of the most coveted slots of the week. And Mr. Thiel, below, helped cap a convention that began with Republicans' ratifying what

again," Mr. Jost said.

MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM

TIME MACHINE

#### 'Make America Dance Again'

Anna Chapman, 22, stood outside the Powerhouse, a Cleveland event space, and worried that she was over-dressed. She had left the Republican National Convention hall on Wednesday night, as Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana was in the middle of formally accepting the vice-presidential nomination, in order to change into her present outfit: dark shorts, sparkly hoop earrings and a T-shirt bearing the face of the pop singer Aaron Carter.

Observing the more conservatively dressed guests walking in, Ms. Chapman said, "I thought this was supposed to be a '90s party."

The College Republican National Committee, which calls itself "the best party on campus," gave a party of the music-dancing-drinking variety late Wednesday night. And the gathering, called "Make America Dance Again," was indeed 1990s-themed, a homage to a decade dominated by a certain Democratic family in the White House.

"We might love the '90s and '90s culture," said Alexandra Smith, the College Republicans' national chairwoman, "but we don't love the Clintons. We're remembering the parts that we like."

Scenes from the night's convention proceedings played on a muted TV, and the dance floor pulsed with songs like Sublime's "Santeria" (1996) and Sisqo's "Thong Song" (1999).

A delegate from Nevada, Staci Grunewald, 39, dropped in and noted the crowded room's energetic vibe. "I'm actually surprised," she said, sipping a drink. "I was under the impression all young people were liberal."

SAM PURDY

CRUZ FALLOUT

#### Delegates Lose Return Flight

Two delegates from North Carolina showed support for Ted Cruz after he refused to endorse Donald Trump on Wednesday; it cost them their flight home.

"I said, 'You have to find another ride,'" said the North Carolina Republican chairman, Robin Hayes, who had given the delegates a ride to Cleveland in his private plane but canceled their return trip after they applauded Mr. Cruz's speech on Wednesday night. "When you try and do a favor for somebody and they

poke you in the eye, what do you do?" Mr. Hayes said.

The rift in the North Carolina delegation, first reported in The Charlotte Observer, was a small example of the divisions that remained in the convention hall and the party over Mr. Trump's nomination.

Asked if he had heard how the two Cruz supporters, Ted Hicks and Rod Chaney, got home, Mr. Hayes joked, "I heard they were on the side of the road with their thumb up."

Actually, they left the convention on Thursday with another delegate who was also less than eager to watch Mr. Trump accept the nomination.

JASON HOROWITZ and DEBORAH ACOSTA



supporters and opponents alike described as their most socially conservative platform ever.

Mr. Thiel is a libertarian who has been drawn to Mr. Trump by a shared belief that America is involved in too many interventions overseas, but his involvement in Republican politics and his embrace of Mr. Trump has made him something of an outlier in Silicon Valley.

His sexual orientation, and his willingness to embrace it publicly in front of such a large audience, makes him even more of an outlier for a Republican convention.

CAMEOS

#### 'Live From Cleveland, It's Wednesday Night'

It was 10 minutes before the first live "Weekend Update" from the floor of a national political convention, and Michael Che and Colin Jost, the anchors, had a problem: They couldn't get into their studio.

Quicken Loans Arena was on Secret Service lockdown on Wednesday night as Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, the Republican vice-presidential nominee, was being escorted from the building. Cut off from printers and teleprompters, Mr. Jost



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Michael Che and Colin Jost, of NBC's "Saturday Night Live," at the convention.

and Mr. Che were rewriting zingers by hand as the midnight airtime loomed.

The duo arrived on the set with two minutes to spare.

"Time for a quick bathroom break?" Mr. Jost joked, as a stylist speedily adjusted his hair.

It has felt like a bit of a comedy crime that a presidential election of such wackiness is unfolding while the satirists at "Saturday Night Live" are on summer break. Turns out, the satirists agreed: Mr. Che and Mr. Jost put off their hiatus to fly to Cleveland.

Working on vacation was not a problem, the hosts said in an interview afterward. "You might not see anything like this



WHITNEY CURTIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The College Republican National Committee gave a party at the Powerhouse, an event space in Cleveland.



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Republicans in Cleveland were still straining to come to terms with the views and personality of their newly minted nominee.

## Trump Takes Mantle And Tells of Threats As Convention Ends

From Page A1

chant quickly broke out in the arena: “Build the wall, build the wall!”

And when he vowed to tell the truth “plainly and honestly,” a delegate cried from the floor: “Bring it, Donald!”

Mr. Trump dwelled at length on illegal immigrants and lawless Americans, saying they are as dangerous for the nation’s security as the Islamic State and Syrian refugees. In doing so, Trump advisers said, he sought to win over undecided voters who are sickened by the recent violence against police officers and worried about safety yet are unsure if Mr. Trump has the temperament and abilities to be commander in chief.

“I have a message to every last person threatening the peace on our streets and the safety of our police: When I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order to our country.”

While nomination speeches are traditionally optimistic and personal, full of hope and revelations that cast candidates in the best possible light for voters, Mr. Trump sounded like a wartime president, using the word “threat” seven times and promising to “defeat the barbarians of ISIS.” He also recited homicide rates in American cities and the thousands of illegal immigrants with criminal records, promising to control violence at home and abroad.

“It is time to show the whole world that America is back — bigger, and better and stronger than

### A speech as fiery as the candidacy that led to it.

ever before,” Mr. Trump said.

He was blistering about Mrs. Clinton, too, and her tenure as secretary of state, arguing that her diplomatic strategy in Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Libya, and other countries had led to civil unrest and political chaos and rendered her unfit to be president.

“America is far less safe — and the world is far less stable — than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America’s foreign policy,” Mr. Trump said.

Mr. Trump said Americans had “lived through one international humiliation after another” under President Obama: the Navy sailors “being forced to their knees” by Iranian captors in January; the destruction of the American consulate in Benghazi, Libya; and Mr. Obama’s decision not to defend his “red line” on Syria.

Mrs. Clinton shared the blame, too, he added.

“This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: death, destruction, terrorism, and weakness,” Mr. Trump said.

In a bid to appeal to Democrats unhappy with their party’s embrace of Mrs. Clinton, he invoked the political message of her chief rival, Senator Bernie Sanders, and suggested that Mr. Sanders shared Republicans’ critique of her record.

Mr. Trump’s eldest daughter, Ivanka, also sought to reach out to Democrats and moderates, extolling him as a champion of women in the workplace, and a leader who would “take on the bold and worthy fights, who will be unafraid to set lofty goals and relentless in his determination to achieve them.”

Boldness has been an enduring theme of Mr. Trump’s campaign, which has defied political tradition and the usual rules for candi-

dates: Mr. Trump rose in the polls last summer even as he made statements about women, Mexicans, and prisoners of war like Senator John McCain that would normally doom presidential contenders.

This week’s convention, which typically would have been choreographed carefully, was itself a departure from the norm. But if Mr. Trump injected drama and even spontaneity back into the formulaic gathering, he also tested the limits of improvisation over the last week.

The operatic quality of the first three days of the convention worried some Republicans. Presidential candidates have two major issues to deal with over the summer, their vice-presidential selection and their convention, and they felt he had bungled both. Mr. Trump chose his running mate haphazardly and then overshadowed the announcement of Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana by indulging in a rambling speech that revived questions about his seriousness.

Instead, the party staged a convention that reflected just how fractured they are. There were, to be sure, effective attacks on the character and record of Mrs. Clinton, whose unpopularity among modern presidential nominees is exceeded only by Mr. Trump’s. But some of the anti-Clinton language spilled into ugliness and catcalls. The party at times seemed unified only around a shared determination to imprison the former secretary of state.

But the speeches dedicated to promoting Mr. Trump and the party’s governing vision were hazy and at times collided with the candidate’s own beliefs. Many of the elected officials who spoke extolled a traditional conservative platform that bears little relation to the nationalist agenda on which Mr. Trump is basing his campaign.

For example, just hours before Mr. Pence, a committed internationalist, assured delegates and millions of voters that America would defend its allies, Mr. Trump gave an interview in which he balked at defending NATO countries, a policy that has been the cornerstone of the alliance for 70 years.

Even as Republicans prepared to leave Cleveland, they were still straining to come to terms with the views and personality of their newly minted nominee.

“I’m going to vote for Mike Pence,” said Gov. Gary Herbert of Utah, pausing for effect: “And Donald Trump comes along with the package.”

Candidates who are trailing — as Mr. Trump is, according to national polling averages — must maximize the bump they typically enjoy in the polls after their conventions. Mr. Trump may see his standing improve after he leaves Cleveland Friday, even though he did not fully seize the opportunity he was afforded after Mrs. Clinton was upbraided by the F.B.I. director over her private email server.

In many ways, the convention’s formality was an awkward fit for Mr. Trump, who soared in the primaries by energizing voters at freewheeling rallies with his off-the-cuff and frequently entertaining remarks.

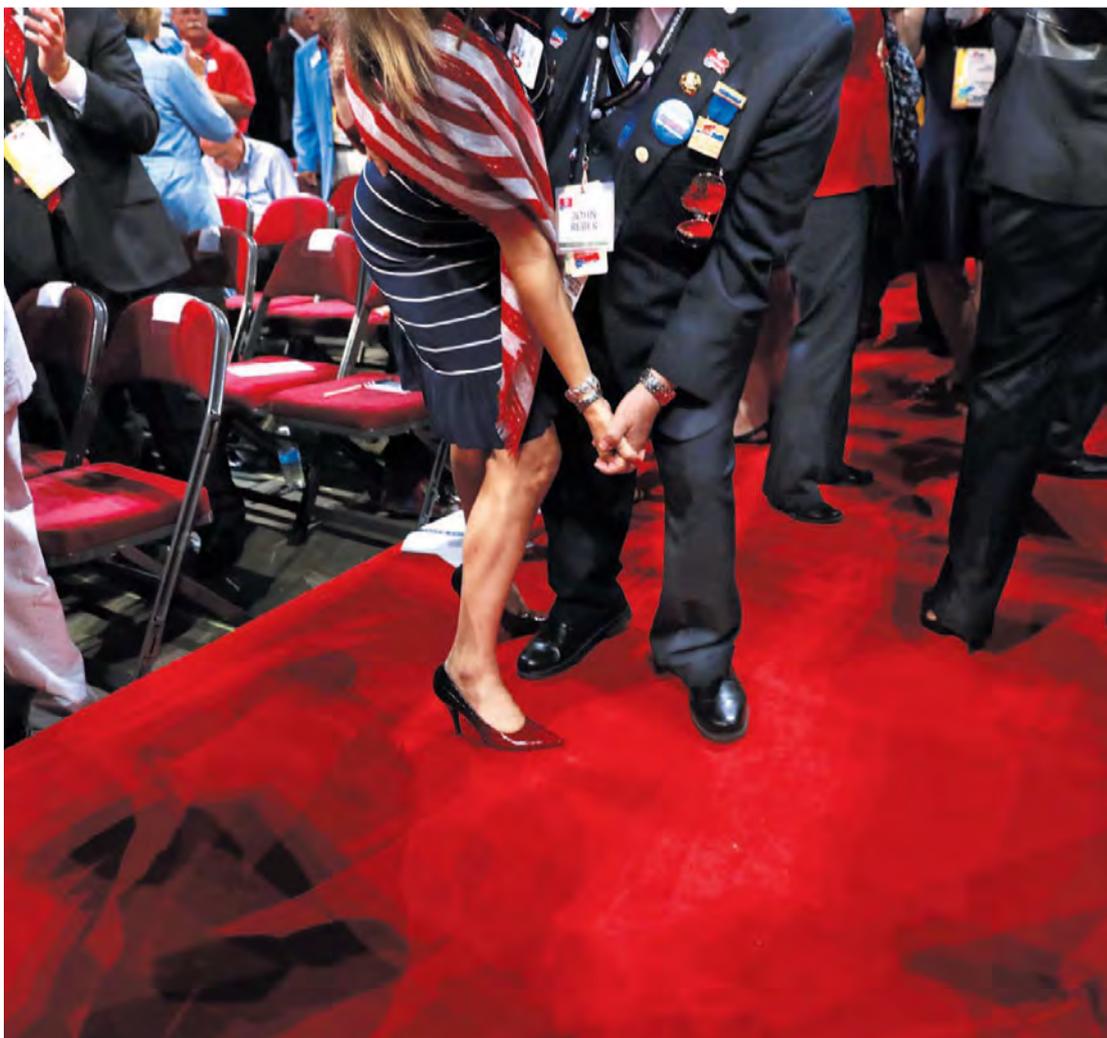
Instead, for Thursday night, he relied on a teleprompter and a speech heavy with familiar Republican themes like cutting taxes, creating jobs, and pushing for education reforms to give parents more choice in schools for their children.

Yet he also made more personal promises as well, like being the ultimate safeguard for the younger generations of Americas as well.

“To every parent who dreams for their child, and every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight: I’m with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you,” Mr. Trump said.



Above and below, celebrations before and after Thursday’s acceptance speech. Facing a restive party on the final night of a convention unusually turbulent and divided, Mr. Trump seemed to make headway in galvanizing and unifying at least those Republicans gathered





CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## NEWS ANALYSIS

## A Speech Feeds a Myth but Reveals Little About the Man

From Page A1

reflection,” Mr. Latimer said, “is usually very powerful in a speech.”

After reading the speech, Paul Begala, a longtime Democratic strategist and speechwriter, called the missing personal details “an enormous mistake.”

“The American people,” he said, “need to know their president’s mythic arc.”

But Mr. Trump, even at 70, seems constitutionally incapable of, or stubbornly averse to, capturing and conveying the complexities of his existence.

At every turn on Thursday night, he avoided turning a colorful and remarkable biography — populated by a volcanic father, a self-destructive brother, his own dizzying career highs and mortifying lows — into vivid, poignant storytelling.

His childhood? He learned “to respect the dignity of work,” he said.

His parents? His father liked the company of the carpenters and electricians he employed. His mother was a “great judge of character.”

His storied career? “I have had a truly great life in business,” he said. And that was that.

His wife, Melania? “Lucky to have at my side,” he said.

The most powerful convention speeches have long relied on verbal Polaroids from the past, intimate glimpses into an unseen and unknowable personal journey.

In 2012, Mitt Romney defied his reputation for stultifying oratory by extolling the romantic bond between his parents, recalling the rose his father, George, left on the pillow every morning for his wife, Lenore. “That’s how she found out



Donald J. Trump vowed on Thursday night to make America “bigger, and better and stronger.”

what happened on the day my father died,” Mr. Romney recalled. “She went looking for him, because that morning, there was no rose.”

The elder George Bush undertook an earnest examination of his best-known vulnerabilities, confronting his reputation for out-of-touch elitism and a lack of charisma and casting them as strengths.

“I am a quiet man,” he said in 1988, “but I hear the quiet people others don’t.”

Richard M. Nixon pleaded with voters who knew him as a bitter political outcast in 1968 to think of him instead as the boy who had grown up poor on a lemon ranch and dreamed “of

faraway places where he’d like to go.”

Mr. Trump, aides said, took inspiration from that famous Nixon speech. But he left out Nixon’s uplifting message and sentimental tone, said David Gergen, an adviser to four presidents, including three Republicans.

“Trump puts forward the same iron fist as Nixon,” Mr. Gergen said after the speech, “but Nixon clothed his in a velvet glove.”

“Trump,” he said, “threw away the glove.”

Instead, Mr. Trump projected unbending self-confidence, authority and strength. He lacerated his Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton, as thoroughly untrustworthy and unethical.

He did not present an entirely unfeeling figure: He promised to give a voice to laid-off factory workers, “the forgotten men and women of our country.”

And he offered compassion for the parents of people killed by undocumented immigrants — and outrage on their behalf.

“These families have no special interests to represent them,” he said. “There are no demonstrators to protest on their behalf. My opponent will never meet with them, or share in their pain.”

“These wounded American families have been alone,” he added. “But they are alone no

longer.”

He had enlisted his children to make him three-dimensional, a task they carried out with just a handful of personal memories: of the encouraging notes he scribbled across their report cards, and of playing at the foot of his desk with Legos or Erector Sets while their father worked in concrete and steel.

Of course, turning a polarizing candidate into a likable leader is not Mrs. Clinton’s talent, either. For much of the past two years, she has emerged as an awkward and reluctant storyteller of her life, more comfortable with 10-point plans than with providing fresh glimpses into her formative years or candid accounts of her professional struggles.

But Mrs. Clinton, whose convention next week will extensively mine her biography, has started to undertake the humbling repair work that many Republicans had hoped Mr. Trump would begin on Thursday. She has admitted some mistakes, conceded that many Americans do not trust her, and acknowledged her role in the partisan warfare that has alienated many voters.

On Thursday night, Mr. Trump reveled in that warfare, made no concessions and admitted no mistakes.

His America, he said, would be “bigger, and better and stronger than ever before.”

Just like him.

n that has been  
ed in the hall.



JOSH HANER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

FRIDAY, JULY 22, 2016



ABOVE, SARAH GRACE TAYLOR/ASSOCIATED PRESS; BELOW, AL DRAGO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### WHITE HOUSE MEMO

## Obama Confronts Growing Expectations

Activists Are Pushing to See The President More Involved On Race and Policing Issues

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

WASHINGTON — At the White House last week, DeRay Mckesson, a Black Lives Matter activist who was arrested only days before in Baton Rouge, La., for protesting police violence against African-Americans, had a lengthy list of demands for President Obama.

The president should visit Baton Rouge and other cities where black men have been killed by police officers, appoint special prosecutors to investigate the deaths and use his executive power to force changes in police departments across the country, Mr. Mckesson said.

The next day, a distraught Erica Garner, whose father, Eric Garner, was killed in 2014 by a New York City police officer who placed him in a chokehold, accosted Mr. Obama after a televised town-hall-style meeting with demands of her own. Why have no police officers been convicted or

sent to jail for killing black men, and what was he doing to rid police departments of the tactical military equipment that made community protest routes resemble war zones, she asked.

As Mr. Obama responds to the latest in fatal confrontations between police officers and black men — this time followed by lethal attacks in Dallas and Baton Rouge on law enforcement officers by black gunmen — he has also confronted a growing list of expectations that young black activists have placed on him.

In private meetings and impromptu conversations with Mr. Obama, Black Lives Matter activists and others who share their goals have questioned why a president they see as uniquely aware of racism is not doing more to help them.

It's complicated, Mr. Obama tries to explain — a response he acknowledges is accurate and unsatisfying.

"I feel like the black community is not being listened to, including by the president," Ms. Garner said in an interview. "We can't expect him to do everything, but he is the leader, and he can point us in the right direction to ensure that we can get justice."

Mr. Obama gave his condolences to Ms. Garner but said he was not in a position to offer more because it would be seen, he said, as placing his thumb on the scales during an open Justice Department investigation into what happened to her father. As for the military-style equipment used by police forces, the president said, his administration had addressed the issue, a response that Ms. Garner later called "a brushoff."

The confrontations highlighted Mr. Obama's struggle to respond to the Black Lives Matter movement, a diffuse group unlike established

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Top, demonstrators outside the White House this month protesting police brutality. A presidential response is complicated, President Obama has tried to explain.

## Seeking A Candidate For Indiana In Cleveland

Pence's Move Creates Work for State G.O.P.

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and MONICA DAVEY

CLEVELAND — Mike Pence's quest to be vice president has suddenly left a gap on Indiana's ballot for governor, and the battle to replace him has been playing out in the unlikelyst of places: a desolate airport hotel in Cleveland, the temporary home of Indiana's Republican delegation.

The group may be small, but seemingly everyone who matters is here — most of the people who want to be governor, and most of the people who will choose the new Republican nominee. The result has been an Indiana-only shadow convention of sorts, an intense, chaotic, awkward week of brazen lobbying at the breakfast buffet, in the hallways and on the elevators of a Hilton Garden Inn.

Calls, texts and one-on-one meetings with the three best-known candidates have nearly exhausted some on the Republican State Central Committee, a group of 22 officials — 16 of whom are here — who intend to name a new nominee for governor next week.

Whispers have started over which would-be nominees sat beside committee members during daily bus rides to the national convention site. And leaflets promoting at least one hopeful, Representative Todd Rokita, have appeared under committee members' hotel room doors at night — the work, Mr. Rokita cheerfully claimed, of "Rokita elves."

"It's just so, so difficult to make this pick," said Craig Dunn, a Republican county chairman who sits on the State Central Committee and like most of his colleagues has known the major candidates a long time and has deep ties to all of them. "We're a pretty jovial, congenial bunch, but there's kind of a look of seriousness I'm seeing now on people's faces. It's a pretty big decision for 22 people to make. We're in uncharted water here."

Mostly unnoticed in the selection last week of Mr. Pence as Donald J. Trump's running mate was how the decision upended Indiana's state politics, setting off a chain of events that left at least four major races in question with months to go. Indiana's politics have been defined by the overwhelming Republican majority in the state capital in recent years, and this unexpected game of musical chairs is raising a flash of hope for Democrats.

"The political scene in Indiana just turned upside down," said Marsha Coats, a member of the Republican National Committee and the wife of Senator Dan Coats, who is retiring.

As Mr. Pence withdrew his candidacy for re-election last week, so did three other Republicans — two mem-

Continued on Page A19

## Fixing Voter ID Law Ruled to Be Discriminatory Will Be Tricky Task for Texas

By MANNY FERNANDEZ and RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

HOUSTON — Ever since Texas' strict voter identification law was passed in 2011, Democratic lawmakers and minority groups had focused on how to get it struck down. This week, after a federal appeals court ruled that the law discriminated against minorities, there is a new, equally vexing question: how to fix it.

The appellate court's decision kept the law in place but instructed a lower court judge to come up with procedures to minimize the law's effect on those who do not have an approved form of government-issued photo ID or who face hurdles in easily obtaining one, many of whom are black or Hispanic. North Carolina, South Carolina and other states that have passed voter ID requirements have had similar court battles over how, and whether, to loosen their rules to accommodate poor and minority voters.

One option is allowing voter-registration cards to be used as ID. Those cards are mailed to voters and do not have a photograph, and might be more readily available to an impoverished voter than a government-issued photo ID. Another option is expanding the list of acceptable IDs to include student IDs or government-employee IDs. And yet another possible solution involves having the state exempt the poor from having to show a photo ID to vote, an exception modeled on Indiana's voter ID law.

Election law experts and opponents of voter ID restrictions cautioned, however, that softening the effect of voter restric-

tions is more easily ordered by a court than accomplished in reality.

"These softening measures work better in theory than in practice," said Richard L. Hasen, an election law expert and a law professor at the University of California, Irvine. "Voters don't understand what their rights are, poll workers don't always understand, and there's not adequate publicity about the options."

In Indiana, for example, an impoverished person who lacks a proper photo ID can cast a provisional ballot on Election Day, but must visit an elections office within 10 days to make the vote official and sign a statement affirming an exemption is warranted. In Texas, provisional ballots have a dismal track record, and as a result, one idea being discussed among lawyers in the case is having voters who lack the proper ID sign an affidavit and then vote on a regular ballot, not a provisional one.

Many Texas voters who cast provisional ballots because of ID-related problems — some have out-of-state driver's licenses instead of Texas driver's licenses — never return after Election Day with a proper ID. Their votes are never officially counted as a result. In Cameron County, where Brownsville is, 18 voters cast ID-related provisional ballots across three elections in March 2014, November 2014 and November 2015. Only one later had the vote counted, while the other 17 let their ballots expire by leaving their ID issue unresolved. In Bexar County, the location of San Antonio, 38 voters who had an ID problem cast provisional ballots in those elections. Only five returned to show the proper ID. The other 33 never followed through, and their votes did not count.

On Wednesday, the federal appeals court, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in New Orleans, ruled that the state's voter ID law discriminated against blacks and Hispanics, in violation of the Voting Rights Act. The court ordered a federal judge in Corpus Christi — Judge Nelva Gonzales Ramos, of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, who oversaw a trial in 2014 — to fashion new voter ID procedures in time for the November election.

With that vote fast approaching, the Fifth Circuit majority wrote that it would be "untenable to permit a law with a discriminatory effect to remain in opera-

tion for that election." Complicating matters, the court did not toss out the law, which is known as Senate Bill 14 or S.B. 14. The appellate judges wrote that Judge Ramos must take into account the Texas Legislature's desire to protect against voter fraud in fixing the problem.

"Clearly, the Legislature wished to reduce the risk of in-person voter fraud by strengthening the forms of identification presented for voting," the court wrote. "Simply reverting to the system in place before S.B. 14's passage would not fully respect these policy choices — it would allow voters to cast ballots after presenting less secure forms of identification like utility bills, bank statements or

paychecks."

Judge Ramos has asked all sides to submit proposed remedies by Aug. 5 and has set a hearing for Aug. 17.

Which IDs are allowed at the polling booth — and what happens when a voter shows up at the polls without one of the approved types — continues to confuse voters. One study by researchers at the University of Houston and Rice University found that in one congressional district in 2014, the majority of registered voters who took part in the survey and claimed not to have voted because they lacked a proper ID did actually have one. They appeared to sit out the election because they mistakenly thought they did not have the appropriate ID.

In Indiana, Michael J. Pitts, a law professor at Indiana University who has studied the use of provisional ballots, said that in the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections, when more than 5.4 million votes were cast statewide, just 1,753 people cast provisional ballots because they did not have photo ID. Of those 1,753, only 206 were ultimately counted.

"I don't think there are clear answers about how well these measures work," Professor Pitts said.

In Texas, some of the law's critics said that while none of the remedies might be perfect, their effect would be significant. Experts testified during the 2014 trial that 1.2 million eligible Texas voters lacked a form of government-issued photo ID accepted by the law, and many of them were black or Hispanic.

"This is the first time that the voters have had the upper hand in a long time," said Marc Veasey, a Texas congressman and Democrat who is a plaintiff in the suit challenging the law.



ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Voters at a polling station in Austin, Tex., in March. A court must soften the effects of restrictions in Texas' voter ID law before the November election.

Manny Fernandez reported from Houston, and Richard Pérez-Peña from New York.

The New York Times

# PILGRIMAGE

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# Prosecutors Seek 25 Hours of Tapes Bergdahl Made for 'Serial' Podcast

By RICHARD A. OPPEL Jr.

The only time the public has heard Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl explain in his own voice why he left his base in Afghanistan — to expose problems in his Army unit, he said, and to “prove to the world” his soldiering skills — was on taped interviews broadcast on the podcast “Serial.”

Now, Army prosecutors trying to send Sergeant Bergdahl to prison for life apparently want his court-martial jury to hear the tapes as well. Mark Boal, the Hollywood screenwriter and producer who recorded the interviews, said Thursday that prosecutors have told him that they intend to subpoena all of his tapes of Sergeant Bergdahl, even those not used in the podcast.

Mr. Boal, who as a reporter was embedded with the military in Iraq and later wrote “The Hurt Locker” and “Zero Dark Thirty,” taped 25 hours of conversations in the months after Sergeant Bergdahl’s repatriation in 2014, following five years of Taliban captivity that ended when President Obama approved a controversial swap for five Taliban detainees at Guantánamo Bay.

The two men spoke as Mr. Boal

was researching a possible movie, book and other projects, and later provided the tapes to “Serial,” which used them as the basis for its second season. Only a small fraction of the 25 hours of conversations was broadcast.

Lawyers for Mr. Boal are moving to defeat the summons: They have asked a federal court in Los Angeles to block the subpoena, invoking his First Amendment rights and arguing that it would violate Justice Department guidelines. The department views such actions against journalists as a last resort, only if the information is essential to a successful prosecution and all other reasonable means to obtain it have been exhausted.

Civilians may be subpoenaed in military cases, but it can be a cumbersome process that requires Justice Department cooperation.

**Only a small fraction of the interviews was ever broadcast.**

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In a court filing, one of Mr. Boal’s lawyers, Jean-Paul Jassy, indicated that an Army prosecutor suggested that he was seeking the interviews that were not broadcast in hopes of finding inconsistencies between what Sergeant Bergdahl told Mr. Boal and military investigators. Mr. Jassy characterized that as “nothing more than a fishing expedition.”

Mr. Boal promised Sergeant Bergdahl that he would keep certain portions of the interviews confidential, or “off the record,” Mr. Jassy wrote.

“Journalists need their interviewees and subjects to have confidence that statements made ‘off the record’ will remain that way,” Mr. Jassy said. He added that it was important that reporters “are not perceived — and do not actually become — agents of the government, and particularly not criminal prosecutors.”

A spokesman for Army Forces Command at Fort Bragg, N.C., whose commander, Gen. Robert B. Abrams, has authorized charges against Sergeant Bergdahl, declined to comment about the subpoena. Eugene R. Fiddell, the sergeant’s defense lawyer, said he had “no comment at this time.” A Justice Department spokeswoman declined to comment.

Julie Snyder, an executive producer of “Serial,” said the Army had not threatened to subpoena the podcast producers — or reached out to them in any way — for the same material.



SARA D. DAVIS/GETTY IMAGES

Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl leaving a military courthouse this month in Ft. Bragg, N.C. He faces charges after he left his Army outpost in 2009.

Sergeant Bergdahl, 30, is scheduled to face court-martial next year on charges of desertion, which carries a potential five-year sentence, and endangering troops sent to search for him, which carries a potential life sentence.

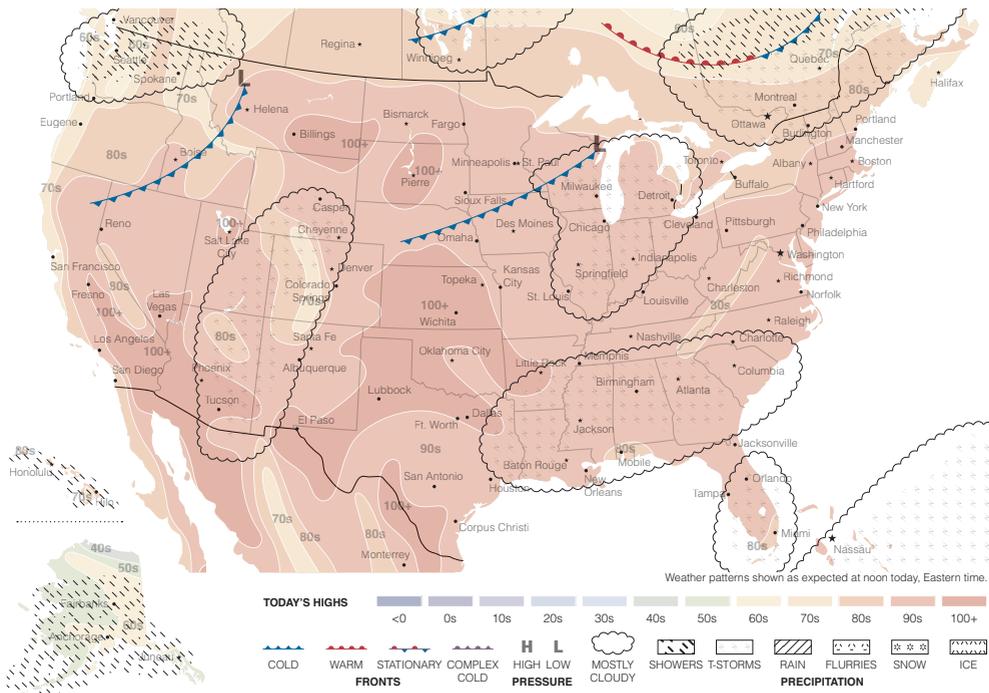
Mr. Boal said he supported the military’s due process involving Sergeant Bergdahl. But of the subpoena, he said, “This is nuts, because there’s no way President Obama and the Department of Justice support what the military prosecutor is proposing, yet the prosecutor is using the power of commander in chief and the authority of the Department of Justice in a way that subverts their own very publicly stated principles and policies.”

The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, a First Amendment advocacy group, intends to file legal papers supporting Mr. Boal, the organization’s executive director, Bruce D. Brown, said.

“Since it issued new guidelines to protect news-gathering, this administration has made it clear that it wants journalists like Mark Boal to be free to do their jobs,” Mr. Brown said. “That protection should be just as robust in a military court.”

# Weather Report

Meteorology by AccuWeather



## Highlight: Heat Relief for the Northern Plains



The jet stream will shift south through the northern Plains this weekend, bringing a decrease in heat and humidity. Farther south and east, extreme heat and humidity will continue through early next week.

## National Forecast

Heat and humidity will increase across the Northeast today. Severe storms will affect some spots from the lower Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley to New England. Drenching storms will develop in the steamy air over the Deep South.

Extreme temperatures will continue from the southern and central Plains to the lower part of the Mississippi Valley, with the heat extending to the northern Plains. Seasonable warmth is forecast to continue over the interior Southwest. Spotty storms will occur in the heat of the afternoon from parts of Arizona and New Mexico to Utah, Colorado and Wyoming.

A wedge of cool air will push inland over the Northwest, bringing spotty showers to Washington and northern Idaho. A sea breeze will cool the coast of California.

## Metropolitan Forecast

**TODAY** .....Afternoon thunderstorm

High 92. A southwest flow of hot and humid air will prevail across the region, with periods of sunshine and clouds. Expect a strong thunderstorm later in the afternoon, which may bring damaging winds.

**TONIGHT** .....A strong thunderstorm early

Low 78. A disturbance will provide a strong thunderstorm with damaging winds in the evening. The rest of the night will be partly cloudy and humid.

**TOMORROW** .....Partly sunny, very hot

High 95. A ridge of high pressure will dominate the region. This will result in a hot and humid day, with a partly sunny sky and a light wind.

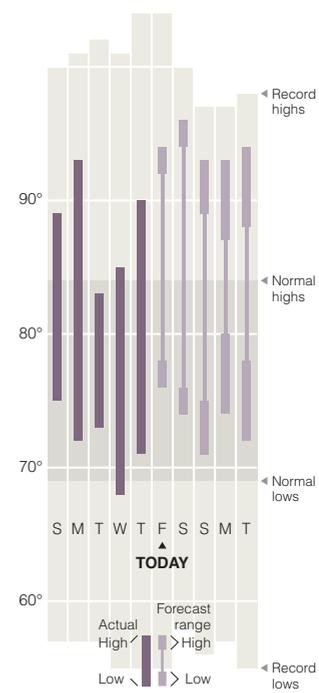
**SUNDAY** .....Partly sunny, hot

Another hot and humid day is expected as high pressure remains in control. It should remain dry, with sunshine and some clouds.

**MONDAY** .....Partly sunny, hot

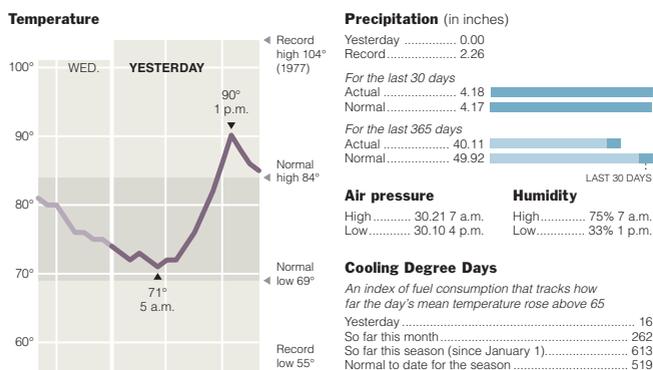
**TUESDAY** .....A thunderstorm on Monday

Monday will be variably cloudy, with a shower or thunderstorm, mainly late. It will be hot, with a high of 94. Tuesday will remain hot, with sunshine and patchy clouds. The high will be 92.



## Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.



## Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

City	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
<b>N.Y.C. region</b>			
New York City	90/71	92/78	95/76
Bridgeport	88/68	90/76	93/73
Baton Rouge	90/63	92/75	95/69
Danbury	86/58	89/70	92/65
Islip	85/67	87/75	92/72
Newark	91/68	93/78	97/75
Trenton	89/66	92/76	94/73
White Plains	89/64	91/74	93/71
<b>Albany</b>	88/67	90/71	91/65
Albuquerque	95/70	97/71	97/72
Anchorage	69/57	61/56	68/58
Atlanta	94/72	92/74	95/76
Atlantic City	82/72	87/77	92/77
Austin	99/73	98/75	97/76
Baltimore	90/68	95/75	98/73
Denver	95/65	91/75	92/74
Birmingham	97/75	92/74	93/76
Boise	101/65	91/57	88/58
Boston	90/70	92/73	91/70
Buffalo	87/72	86/70	87/67
Burlington	87/71	86/70	87/67
Casper	97/62	96/56	90/51
Charlotte	91/70	93/72	97/76
Chattanooga	99/74	96/75	97/76
Chicago	93/78	96/74	91/75
Cincinnati	92/71	91/74	88/73
Cleveland	94/74	93/73	92/70
Colorado Springs	93/65	91/65	91/63
Columbus	91/72	90/73	90/73
Concord, N.H.	90/61	91/67	90/62
Dallas-Ft. Worth	100/80	100/81	99/80
Dayton	96/77	97/77	97/79
Des Moines	96/77	92/77	95/79
Detroit	94/77	94/72	94/71
El Paso	101/76	101/76	102/77
Fargo	91/67	91/68	93/63
Hartford	92/68	93/71	96/69
Honolulu	87/70	87/74	87/77
Houston	96/77	96/78	94/78
Indianapolis	91/76	91/75	89/76
Jackson	93/76	93/74	93/74
Jacksonville	94/72	93/71	94/72
Kansas City	96/77	97/77	97/79
Key West	88/80	88/80	88/80
Las Vegas	105/87	112/87	113/88
Lexington	94/70	93/74	93/75
Little Rock	99/78	100/79	98/78
Los Angeles	93/68	92/69	92/67
Louisville	93/76	94/78	93/77
Memphis	90/80	91/79	96/79
Miami	87/73	89/78	89/77
Milwaukee	88/77	90/73	87/70
Mpls.-St. Paul	96/77	97/74	85/74
Nashville	96/74	96/75	96/76
New Orleans	96/80	92/78	92/78
Norfolk	98/76	97/77	95/78
Oklahoma City	98/73	98/75	99/78
Omaha	98/78	96/76	96/76
Orlando	93/75	94/74	94/73
Philadelphia	89/73	95/77	98/76
Phoenix	111/80	114/92	114/92
Pittsburgh	92/71	92/73	92/67
Portland, Me.	84/65	88/69	87/64
Portland, Ore.	87/62	76/58	78/59
Providence	88/70	89/73	93/69
Raleigh	90/70	94/72	97/74
San Antonio	95/74	92/73	89/68
San Diego	80/68	82/69	80/68
San Francisco	69/55	72/55	73/55
San Jose	76/56	82/58	85/57
San Juan	91/79	91/79	88/77
Seattle	81/59	72/58	73/56
Sioux Falls	95/74	92/73	89/68
Spokane	90/62	77/54	79/54
St. Louis	96/80	99/80	100/81
St. Thomas	92/81	90/80	89/81
Syracuse	89/70	89/70	88/62
Tampa	94/77	91/76	91/77
Toledo	92/73	91/70	94/68
Tucson	103/80	106/81	106/82
Tulsa	101/79	101/79	101/79
Virginia Beach	86/74	91/77	94/79
Washington	91/75	95/78	98/79
Wichita	102/77	103/77	102/76
Wilmington, Del.	86/70	91/76	95/73
<b>Africa</b>			
Algiers	99/67	91/65	84/66
Cairo	99/77	95/76	95/76
Cape Town	61/51	58/45	57/42
Dakar	84/76	84/76	85/78
Johannesburg	70/40	71/37	67/36
Nairobi	73/50	72/51	74/53
Tunis	97/65	100/76	96/72
<b>Asia/Pacific</b>			
Baghdad	121/91	117/86	109/80
Bangkok	90/74	91/79	92/79
Beijing	87/74	88/79	84/80
Beijing	95/67	90/82	97/66
Hong Kong	91/84	90/84	90/82
Jakarta	88/77	87/77	89/76
Jerusalem	86/69	85/64	85/68
Karachi	88/80	88/82	88/81
Manila	95/75	92/77	93/78
Mumbai	82/75	82/78	84/77
New Delhi	99/85	98/81	87/78
Riyadh	113/89	116/90	114/88
Seoul	90/77	90/75	86/73
Shanghai	100/83	100/82	100/81
Singapore	88/56	86/78	86/78
Sydney	65/59	67/55	66/45
Taipei	93/80	95/78	94/78
Tehran	104/76	106/80	105/83
Tokyo	77/72	75/68	81/72
<b>Europe</b>			
Amsterdam	76/62	77/63	77/60
Athens	91/73	90/74	93/76
Berlin	83/61	84/59	83/63
Brussels	76/61	76/61	76/60
Budapest	82/56	84/63	87/65
Copenhagen	73/61	75/61	77/62
Dublin	73/55	68/54	69/55
Edinburgh	70/52	68/52	69/56
Frankfurt	79/67	87/66	81/64
Geneva	88/66	76/59	76/60
Helsinki	70/57	74/62	76/63
Istanbul	84/70	86/69	86/73
Kiev	60/54	70/57	73/61
Lisbon	81/63	79/65	83/71
London	77/60	76/61	81/62
Madrid	97/66	91/63	90/63
Moscow	70/62	74/59	74/62
Nice	79/69	79/72	80/71
Oslo	79/60	77/59	77/58
Paris	83/56	87/66	81/64
Prague	79/58	80/59	79/59
Rome	85/67	85/67	87/66
St. Petersburg	72/63	76/65	82/65
Stockholm	76/50	75/52	78/56
Vienna	84/60	82/64	84/68
Warsaw	79/53	76/58	79/60
<b>North America</b>			
Acapulco	90/77	88/75	89/77
Bermuda	81/76	83/77	85/78
Edmonton	72/54	78/63	73/50
Guadalajara	80/57	77/61	76/61
Havana	91/73	89/74	89/72
Kingston	90/78	91/79	92/78
Marquette	88/81	89/76	88/76
Mexico City	71/53	72/57	72/55
Monterrey	93/72	95/75	97/75
Montreal	88/61	86/66	83/61
Nassau	92/80	91/80	90/78
Panama City	90/75	88/72	88/75
Quito	71/48	75/52	74/52
Resaca	88/84	91/74	90/73
Santo Domingo	91/73	90/73	90/63
Toronto	94/61	95/69	91/57
Vancouver	73/56	72/57	77/64
Winnipeg	84/67	82/62	77/64
<b>South America</b>			
Buenos Aires	60/30	58/41	61/40
Caracas	89/76	88/77	86/75
Lima	87/60	71/60	72/60
Quito	71/48	75/52	74/52
Recife	88/84	82/72	82/73
Rio de Janeiro	70/65	72/64	77/65
Santiago	73/37	65/45	59/46

## Recreational Forecast

### Sun, Moon and Planets

Phase	Date	Time
Last Quarter	July 26	
New	Aug. 2	4:45 p.m.
First Quarter	Aug. 10	
Full	Aug. 18	5:28 a.m.

### High Tides

Location	Time
Atlantic City	9:51 a.m.
Barneget Inlet	10:07 a.m.
The Battery	10:40 a.m.
Beach Haven	11:33 a.m.
Bridgeport	1:21 a.m.
City Island	1:01 a.m.
Fire Island Lt.	11:01 a.m.
Montauk Point	11:36 a.m.
Northport	1:21 a.m.
Port Washington	1:09 a.m.
Sandy Hook	

# Seeking New Republican Candidate for Indiana Governor in Cleveland

From Page A16

bers of Congress, Mr. Rokita and Representative Susan W. Brooks, as well as Lt. Gov. Eric Holcomb. All now hope to be picked as the nominee for governor instead.

At least one state senator also hopes to be the nominee, and state officials said this week that they were hearing “rumbles” that still more people might raise their hands for the job before the state central committee’s private meeting and secret-ballot vote, scheduled for Tuesday back in Indiana. Some Indiana Republicans had urged Mitch Daniels, who preceded Mr. Pence as governor and whose legacy often seemed to overshadow Mr. Pence’s tenure, to return to office, but Mr. Daniels removed his name from consideration last week.

What Indiana’s leaders and political operatives from both parties do not agree on is this: whether Mr. Pence’s departure deals a significant blow to the Republicans’ chances of holding on to the governor’s office or whether it may actually help them.

Any replacement for Mr. Pence is likely to have far less name recognition than a sitting governor and significant ground to make up in fund-raising in a year when a popular Indiana name, Evan Bayh, is unexpectedly back on the Democratic ticket, seeking a return to the United States Senate to replace Mr. Coats.

John Gregg, the Democratic candidate for governor who narrowly lost to Mr. Pence four years

Nicholas Fandos reported from Cleveland, and Monica Davey from Chicago.



Representative Todd Rokita, center, is among the Indiana Republicans hoping to be chosen as the party’s nominee for governor.

ago, went right on as usual this week, campaigning at county fairs and diners. In an interview, Mr. Gregg said his yearslong effort to serve as governor now separated him from the crop of Republicans suddenly jockeying for the job.

“Voters will wonder, in the case of the others, do they just see this as an opportunity?” he said.

Mr. Pence received intense criticism in his first term, especially from business-minded Republicans for his signing of a law that could have made it easier for religious conservatives to deny services to same-sex couples.

Some polls suggested that he was facing a tight rematch for governor against Mr. Gregg.

“The state has a little bit of a Governor Pence hangover,” said Bill Oesterle, the former chief executive of Indianapolis-based Angie’s List and a Republican who has been encouraging Mr. Daniels to run for governor. “Until we know who that new face is, we can’t really tell, but there is an opportunity to pick a candidate who

will perform much better.”

Back in Cleveland, in the close quarters of the Hilton Garden Inn, the rushed, intensely personal campaign to win over at least 12 of the 22 state central committee members played out in hotel alcoves and conference rooms. Adding to the confusion, the candidates who do not get the gover-

nor’s nomination are widely expected to seek permission to go back to vying for ballot positions for their current jobs — the very ones they withdrew from.

“We’re very blessed,” said Jeff Cardwell, the chairman of the Indiana Republican Party and one of the 16 central committee members in Cleveland. “We’ve got a deep bench, and this is grass-roots politicking at its best.”

As Ms. Brooks strode through the hotel lobby shortly before meeting a committee member on Tuesday afternoon, she described the situation this way: “I call it the fishbowl.” A former United States attorney in her second term in the House, Ms. Brooks is not a convention delegate but made the trip with her husband, who is, and it is paying off. “For me, it’s a job interview,” she said.

Mr. Rokita, a three-term congressman, said the candidates found themselves in a rare political quandary: trying to impress their case upon only a few people who, in many instances, already knew them well. “There’s a lot of emotion going on here,” Mr. Rokita said. “There’s a lot of fair-haired girls and boys.”

All were on the lookout for hints of preference. So when Mr. Holcomb, who recently became lieutenant governor but spent years working as an adviser to Mr. Daniels, was called forward on Tuesday to nominate Mr. Pence as vice president before the national convention, some took note.

The choice had been kept quiet until just before he spoke, some Indiana Republicans said, wondering aloud what, if anything, it might have signaled.

## Police in Florida Shoot and Wound Man Aiding Patient

By NIRAJ CHOKSHI

A black man said the police in North Miami, Fla., shot him on Monday as he tried to help a patient with autism who had run away from the group home where he works.

The man, Charles Kinsey, 47, who identified himself as a caretaker of the patient, was on a city street with the patient when officers arrived, a lawyer for Mr. Kinsey said. When the officers drew their weapons, Mr. Kinsey told them there was no need for firearms, lay down in the middle of the street and tried to explain what had happened, the lawyer said.

“All he has is a toy truck — a toy truck,” Mr. Kinsey said, according to video obtained by the Miami television station WSVN. “I am a behavior therapist at a group home,” he added.

The video shows him trying to calm the patient, urging him to sit and to lie down. But the officers opened fire, and Mr. Kinsey was shot in the leg.

The North Miami police did not immediately respond to phone and email messages seeking comment on Thursday. The North Miami police chief, Gary Eugene, who held a news conference on Thursday, did not identify the officer who fired the shot and said an investigation would be led by the Florida Department of Law Enforcement.

Chief Eugene said officers were responding to a 911 call of a person



An image from a cellphone video showed Charles Kinsey, a behavior therapist, with his hands up, his patient next to him.

who was suicidal and that no gun was recovered at the scene. “The law requires us to gather every fact and resolve every question,” he said, but he took no questions from reporters.

In a preliminary statement Tuesday, the North Miami Police Department said officers had responded to a call about “an armed male suspect threatening suicide.”

“Arriving officers attempted to negotiate with the two men on the scene, one of whom was later identified as suffering from autism,” the statement said. “At some point during the on-scene negotiation, one of the responding officers discharged his weapon,

striking the employee” of a care facility.

The video shows Mr. Kinsey in a T-shirt and shorts with his back on the ground and his hands in the air. Seated next to him on a street is another man, who Mr. Kinsey says is the patient he was trying to help.

Despite Mr. Kinsey’s attempt to defuse the situation, officers fired multiple shots, one of them striking his leg, his lawyer, Hilton Napoleon, said.

“He asked the police officer, ‘Why did you shoot me?’ He told my client, ‘I don’t know,’” Mr. Napoleon said.

Clint Bower, the president and chief executive of MACTown Inc.,

where Mr. Kinsey works, expressed frustration at how the police responded, but praised Mr. Kinsey for his actions.

“Needless to say, after viewing the video, my employee Charles Kinsey, behavioral support professional, is a hero. He saved the 24-year-old young man with autism from being shot,” Mr. Bower said in an email on Wednesday. “He put his own life at risk, which is evident in the video.”

Assistant Police Chief Neal Cuevas told The Miami Herald that an officer had fired three times, striking Mr. Kinsey once in the leg. The officer was placed on administrative leave, and the investigation was turned over to the Miami-Dade State Attorney’s Office, the authorities said.

Mr. Napoleon said he met with city officials on Wednesday and had discussed the possibility of a settlement. Whatever the resolution, he said, the city should start by censuring the officer. “The best thing that the City of North Miami can do is come out and condemn the officer,” he said.

In a statement on Thursday, the American Civil Liberties Union of Florida said: “We have to stem the tide of violence, both nationwide and here in Florida. It starts with holding people accountable for their actions. There must be a thorough and independent investigation into this shooting that covers both whether officers violated internal use of deadly force policies and whether criminal charges should be brought.”

WHITE HOUSE MEMO

## Activists Pushing to See President More Involved With Race and Policing

From Page A16

civil rights organizations that have deep relationships at the White House and on Capitol Hill.

Mr. Obama first invited Black Lives Matter activists to the White House in 2014 after unrest in Ferguson, Mo., following the killing of an unarmed black man, Michael Brown, by a white police officer. White House officials said at the time that the activists had grievances but few constructive suggestions. Mr. Obama has prodded them to focus on solutions.

“The goal of protest isn’t just to protest for the sake of protesting,” he said at last week’s town-hall-style meeting. “The goal of protest is to then get the attention of decision-makers and sit down and say, ‘Here’s what we would like to see;’ and have a negotiation, which over time can actually lead to improvements in the system.”

The president, his advisers say, identifies with the protesters’ cause — a former community organizer, he spoke at last week’s meeting about his experiences of being discriminated against by police officers and others — but as the person who appoints the nation’s top law enforcement official, he is equally sensitive to police concerns.

“His empathy isn’t only with the movement, it’s also with the enormous challenge that law enforcement officers have,” said Valerie Jarrett, Mr. Obama’s senior adviser. “He can feel both perspectives because he is of both perspectives.”

In his meeting with Mr. McKesson at the White House last week — a four-hour session that included activists and law enforcement and elected officials — Mr. Obama said, according to accounts from several in attendance, that it would not be appropriate for him to visit Ferguson or other cities where police killings of black men have occurred. Visits with the families in those places, he said, could be seen as siding with them in open investigations.

The president thanked Mr. McKesson pointedly for what he called a long “to-do list,” and he added that his willingness to take hours out of his packed schedule should indicate his seriousness about addressing problems of race and policing.

A night later at the town-hall-style meeting, Mr. Obama offered up a defense of Black Lives Matter against critics who have said the movement is inherently racist.

“The phrase ‘black lives matter’ simply refers to the notion that there’s a specific vulnerability for African-Americans that needs to be addressed,” he said. “It’s not meant to suggest that other lives don’t matter; it’s to

suggest that other folks aren’t experiencing this particular vulnerability.”

Although Mr. McKesson and other activists praise Mr. Obama for inviting them to the White House, they say he has not lived up to his promises from that first meeting in 2014.

“He’s actually backtracking in terms of what we asked him to do: to talk about the epidemic of policing and minority communities, to really identify the problem, to acknowledge the disparities and to come behind us as a black president especially,” said Ashley Yates, an organizer in Oakland, Calif., who attended the 2014 session.

Ms. Yates said she was particularly stung by an open letter Mr. Obama wrote to law enforcement officials this week in which he named and praised in personal terms one of the officers killed in Dallas — something she said he had not done for the black men killed by police officers.

“We do know this is risky business for him and there are political repercussions, but we’re also asking more of our black president — and we’re not seeing it,” Ms. Yates said.

Ms. Jarrett said the criticism ignored important progress that had been made in the two years since Mr. Obama created a policing task force that presented recommendations in 2015 on building trust between law enforcement officials and communities. Twelve states have adopted policies informed by the report.

The administration has also expanded federal grants for body cameras, putting 21,000 on the street. The White House has started initiatives to collect and use data to better target law enforcement resources and increase transparency about how the police do their work.

And Mr. Obama issued an executive order last year to limit the kinds of military equipment federal agencies can provide to local police departments, although the White House said last week that the president was re-evaluating the list of banned equipment based on concern among law enforcement groups.

Brittany Packnett, a member of the policing commission who has met with Mr. Obama several times, said she had encouraged fellow activists to aim high in what they are asking of him, even as her own expectations of what the federal government can do are tempered by a career doing policy work that is often incremental and can seem frustratingly slow.

“We should absolutely ask for everything that we need from this president,” said Ms. Packnett, who attended last week’s meeting. “And also know that we’re not going to get it all now, and we’re not going to get it all from him.”

## A Day of Protests Over Police Shootings Across the U.S.

By KATIE SHEPHERD and CHRISTINE HAUSER

WASHINGTON — A coalition of black racial-justice organizations started a series of coordinated demonstrations in more than a dozen cities across the United States on Thursday to protest police shootings.

One of the earliest protests to kick off the Movement for Black Lives was in Washington, where a small, mostly white, crowd stood near the entrance of the Office of Police Complaints holding signs printed with “Black Lives Matter” and “Stop Killing Black People.”

Most came to the protest with Showing Up for Racial Justice, an organization that encourages white people to rally around social justice causes, especially those related to race in America. The white protesters would not speak on the record, saying they did not want white voices to drown out the concerns of the black activists they aimed to support.

One organizer from another group, the Stop Police Terror Project, thanked the crowd for coming out.

“We have to move beyond being allies to being comrades in this struggle,” Sean Blackmon said into a megaphone aimed at the crowd of protesters. “The police



Demonstrators gathered outside the Office of Police Complaints in Washington on Thursday to protest police violence.

### Racial-justice groups are seeking ‘comrades in this struggle.’

are an institution that investigates itself and finds itself not guilty as a matter of habit.”

Mr. Blackmon said he was happy to see white residents among the protesters. “Black people don’t have a monopoly on suffering,” he said. “Black people don’t have a monopoly on being killed by police.”

The protests, called Freedom Now, were organized before the

most recent shooting, when an officer in North Miami, Fla., on Wednesday wounded a black therapist who had been trying to help an autistic patient on a street, and who was on the ground with his hands up. The protests also came in the wake of shootings in Louisiana and Minnesota that have stoked racial tensions in the United States, and ambushes of police officers in Louisiana and Texas.

Demonstrations kicked off early in other cities, unifying the message online with #BlackLivesMatter and #FreedomNow, the name given to the collective call to action.

Katie Shepherd reported from Washington, and Christine Hauser from New York.





SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Awad Elsayed Elmatbagi, director of an Islamic funeral home, with his son, Kareem. They have buried several young men in the last two years who are thought to have died from heroin overdoses.

## Overdoses Claim Immigrant Victims, Catching Families Off Guard

By LIZ ROBBINS

In the last two years, the director of an Islamic funeral home in Sunset Park, Brooklyn, buried six young men. Heart attacks, some neighbors said, but the whispers and witnesses said something else: heroin. The families of the men would not discuss the causes of death.

"They tell us straight up, 'Don't say anything,'" the funeral director's son, Kareem Elmatbagi, said. Drug overdose is considered suicide, a sin in Islam, and therefore a source of shame for many in the Arab-American community.

Among Russian-speaking immigrants in South Brooklyn, where heroin use has raged for more than two decades, a study showed that some young addicts were pilfering pills from their grandparents, with whom they lived in multigenerational households.

The country's epidemic abuse of opioids — heroin, or prescription pills — is often seen as an affliction of white suburban and rural communities, but it has also spread to New York City's immigrant neighborhoods. There is no city data that breaks down drug abuse by ethnicity, but anecdotal evidence suggests that it is emerging or even worsening where it already has a foothold.

Experts and those enmeshed in the fight against drugs see many possible explanations. Immigrant parents are often unfamiliar with the signs of drug abuse and may not know how to navigate the world of treatment and recovery.

### Opioid Epidemic Reaches Into City's Enclaves



JOSHUA BRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Immigrant families, steeped in traditions, can also have an especially strong culture of shame around addiction that discourages asking for help.

"No group has a monopoly over stigma," said Dr. Gary Belkin, the executive deputy commis-

sioner for mental hygiene at the city health department, who oversees the city's addiction services. "But we need to appreciate the different ways it plays out."

In Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, there were about 19 overdoses from opioids the last two years within

Helen Berg, 48, the mother of Sasha. Ms. Berg spotted an ad for an addiction treatment program that Sasha pursued.

the Arab-American community, according to Mohamed Elnashar, the director of the Islamic Society of Bay Ridge. The drug epidemic, he said, "has hurt the whole community."

When Awad Elsayed Elmatbagi, the director of the Islamic International Funeral Services home in Sunset Park, and his son prepared the bodies of overdose victims for burial, the younger Mr. Elmatbagi was speechless.

"These are kids I saw in the community," he said. "And to see them on the tables back there — wow."

Mohammad, 22, a recovering addict, did not go to any of the funerals. "I just couldn't face their families," he said recently, sitting in a Bay Ridge treatment center. "Most of them knew what I used to do with their sons." Like the other recovering addicts interviewed, he asked to be identified only by his given name.

Mohammad's addiction followed a familiar arc. He said he started taking prescription painkillers in high school because of knee surgery after a football injury. A couple of years later, he was in a car accident and injured his back. His doctor prescribed oxycodone.

He was hooked. When the prescriptions ran out, he turned to street dealers. Eventually that became too expensive, so he switched to heroin, which was one-quarter of the cost. He entered a treatment program in October.

In Bay Ridge, many families have arrived within the past decade from Egypt, Lebanon and

Continued on Page A24

## Queens Crusader Turned the Tide for a Crumbling Park and Its Sea Wall

Into her 80s, Elizabeth McQueen patrolled Queensbridge Park in Long Island City, Queens, wheeling her walker, a grandson or a great-grandchild at her side, eyes sweeping the walks and lawn. "If someone was barbecuing, she made sure they had garbage bags," her grandson, Desmen Williams, said. "She had a bin of supplies. A rake if you needed to rake up. She made sure the fire barrels were out there, so you put coals in the barrel when you were done."

The park is on the eastern bank of the East River, across from the Upper East Side of Manhattan, and Mrs. McQueen lived in the Queensbridge Houses, home to about 7,000 people, the largest public housing development in the country.

"We used to take the kids down to the park," Dolores Chauncey, her friend and neighbor, said. "She'd say, 'We're on one side of the river and the millionaires were on the other, but we have the better view. We can lay in the park and watch the boats go by, and wait for the stars and moon to come out.' And we did."

Mrs. Chauncey and Mrs. McQueen met about 40 years ago, another age in New York. The children splashed in a baby pool in the summertime, fished from the rocks when they got older, picnicked at all ages. But along the riverfront, the sea wall, built on a foundation of loose stone called riprap, was falling apart. To keep people away from



CHRISTOPHER GREGORY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Elizabeth McQueen leaned on officials to revamp Queensbridge Park, in Long Island City, whose esplanade reopened in summer 2014. On Friday, the city will declare the esplanade along the river to be Elizabeth McQueen Way.

the hazard, the parks department fenced off the area, including an esplanade. Decay marched on: One of two playgrounds was turned into a parking lot for people working on the Queensboro Bridge. The park house, with its concession stand and changing rooms for the wading pool, was left to the elements. And the pool was drained and filled in, visible only in the mind's eye.

"It broke her heart that children were playing in a park that they could literally see crumbling into the river," Councilman Jimmy Van Bramer, a Democrat who represents the area,

said. "It wasn't just about the park, it was about justice. Nowhere in Manhattan would this be allowed to happen."

Mrs. McQueen reared back and leaned against the universe. In between working as a technician at Polaroid and looking after her grandson, she became a world-class nudge. "She had no problem calling any elected official at any level," said Chris Hanway, the executive director of the Jacob Riis Neighborhood Settlement House, where Mrs. McQueen served on the board.

And she leaned on nonelected officials, too. "This was a real problem site,



CHRISTOPHER GREGORY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

and she in the most gracious possible way kept the pressure on," said Adrian Benepe, the commissioner of the parks department from 2002 to 2012, who noted that the park was not in a fashionable neighborhood likely to attract private funds. She was installed as the park's warden, a titled volunteer, in recognition of her stature.

With friends and allies in the community and government, she organized Dancing Under the Stars nights, Super Soaker days for water-gun battles, puppet theaters, concerts and more. Battered as it was, the park remained

alive and lively.

That was the daily business. In the long term, she wanted New York City to rebuild the sea wall and restore access to the walkway along the water. At least four agencies had dominion over some piece of the park, and yet others had a say in granting permits. For the \$7 million cost, Mrs. McQueen chased down elected officials, including Democrats like Mr. Van Bramer; Helen M. Marshall, then the borough president; Representative Carolyn B. Maloney; and Assemblywoman Catherine T. Nolan, as well as the mayor at the time, Michael R. Bloomberg, a Republican turned independent.

About half — \$3.65 million — was secured by Mr. Van Bramer through the City Council. "When the grant came in for the sea wall, she came into my house and said, 'We got it!'" her grandson said. "If she could have done back flips, she would have."

The esplanade reopened in summer 2014. She was not done. A new park house was needed. "She was right," Mr. Van Bramer said.

Work will begin in the fall. Mrs. McQueen died in February at age 83. On Friday, the city, urged on by Mr. Van Bramer, will declare the esplanade along the river to be Elizabeth McQueen Way. It runs atop the rebuilt sea wall, across from Manhattan towers named for corporations and real estate developers, a place where anyone who loves river breezes and moonlit nights can stroll.

"My grandmother did things a lot of people wouldn't do because they didn't think it was their job," Mr. Williams said. "She's gone. But she's still winning."



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Sasha, top, had a pill addiction. Above, Connie Pentony-Brown, left, the director of a counseling center, has noticed cultural differences in immigrant families with addicted children.

## Overdoses by Immigrants Catching Families Off Guard

From Page A21

Yemen unprepared for the differences in American life; schools stop monitoring students once the last bell rings, and parents are busy working.

"It's the transformation of how you raise your kids back home and the whole village is taking care of your kids to here," said Kathy Khatari, a neighborhood activist who is Muslim. "You're in America; the only village taking care of your kids is the street."

Ms. Khatari lobbied local Arab-American leaders for financial support and brought in Donna Mae DePola, the founder of the Resource Training & Counseling Center, a drug-treatment program in Sunset Park, to open a satellite office in Bay Ridge.

Of the 67 current Bay Ridge clients, 12 are of Middle Eastern heritage, Ms. DePola said.

Connie Pentony-Brown, the director of the Bay Ridge office, said she had noticed a distinct cultural difference in the reactions of families. "With our American patients, while family might be angry, family is supportive," she said. "I think with the Middle Eastern community, the family wants them to get help, but I don't think they know how to support them."

Ms. DePola said the Arab-American Association in Bay Ridge asked her to speak to mothers to educate them on the signs of drug abuse. About 30 women attended.

"The mothers are very frustrated; there's a lot of crying," she said. "Taking advice is very difficult. They go back to the Quran. 'Praying is great,' I tell them. 'We need just a tiny bit more than praying. We need treatment.'"

In the Midwood neighborhood of Brooklyn, the Dynamic Youth Community, an adolescent treatment program, has existed since 1970, but it was not until the late 1990s that it had its first Russian-speaking parents' support group. "We needed it because suddenly we had all these people coming from one area," said Karen Carlini, the associate director, who has been on the staff since 1974.

Of the 161 young adults currently in treatment, about 25 percent are from families who emigrated from the former Soviet Union, she said. According to a June 2015 study of young adults in Brooklyn whose families had emigrated from the former Soviet Union, most of them began using "within a social setting with peers after school," said Honoria Guarino, the principal investigator. Once primed, some stole prescription drugs from an unsuspecting relative. The study was published in the *Journal of Addictive Diseases*.

Dr. Guarino found that the Russians were often well educated and had close relationships with their families and financial support — all factors that tend to inoculate young people against addiction.

Dr. Belkin, of the city's health department, spoke of the "healthy immigrant effect" — the notion that people who decide to uproot themselves for life in a new country are psychologically sturdy and motivated to remain healthy. But that theory may not apply to their children, he said.

Anastasia Teper, 33, a researcher on the study and a recovering addict who came from Russia as a teenager, said that immigrant young adults are under pressure to assimilate, which can lead to experimentation.

"You have this huge conflict of the traditional values clashing with the so-called American

values and this Russian stubborn temperament," Ms. Teper said.

But there was also a taboo against even speaking about drug use, which got in the way of treating it, the researchers said.

"Once you are a drug user, you are disowned," Ms. Teper said. "It's like you've killed someone, you've prostituted yourself. It's worse than being a drunk."

In order to break the silence, a Russian radio station last year broadcast weekly interviews with young addicts in recovery, parents and advocates.

Sasha, 25, who came to United States from Ukraine with her family 20 years ago, was addicted to pills, making her unusual among Russian addicts, who tended to inject heroin. Her path to addiction started when she was teased for not knowing English, and the pressure her parents put on her to succeed at school.

As a teenager, she grew depressed over the apparent suicide of a boyfriend; she was hospitalized, and doctors prescribed drugs such as Klonopin and Xanax.

She started buying drugs on the street and even got a job in a pharmacy, fueling her addiction.

One day, Sasha's mother, Helen Berg (they have different last names), saw an advertisement for Dynamic Youth Community in a Russian newspaper she rarely read. "It was a sign from God," Ms. Berg said. "But I thought, 'No way do they take girls, this is only for boys.'"

Sasha arrived at Dynamic at age 21, weighing 80 pounds. After living in the center's residential treatment program in upstate New York, she moved to all-day treatment in Brooklyn that became semiweekly. Later, she worked for the center; now she is taking pre-med classes.

"If a kid comes here for an interview," Sasha said, "mom and dad have this internal discussion: 'What is grandma going to think? What is Aunt Tatiana going to think?'"

Russian parents lack education about drugs, said Natalie, a mother with two sons who have battled addiction. After coming to the United States, she got divorced, worked and went back to school.

"American parents are close to the problem," she said. "We know about alcohol. Drugs, they are like the moon for me." Like most other mothers interviewed, Natalie asked to be identified only by her given name.

Naïveté and desperation drove some mothers to spend thousands of dollars on so-called interventionists for a quick fix.

"I was losing him; he had overdosed once," another mother, Raschel, said about her son. A friend told her about a rabbi who supposedly specialized in mystical healing. She said the rabbi insisted on spiritually cleaning her home. At the end, the rabbi's associate asked for \$1,800.

Raschel recalled her son's incredulous reaction: "Mom, are you high?"

She said. These Russian-speaking mothers blamed themselves, what they saw as lax oversight in American schools and doctors who overprescribed pills for their children.

As their children have fought to become clean, the guilt lingers.

"My parents left everything behind to come here for a better life for me to become a drug addict," said Roman, 25, who emigrated from Ukraine as a child. "So much suffering has been done. That's something I struggle with. I have apologized."

## Ventilation Required in All New York Nail Salons

By SARAH MASLIN NIR

All nail salons in New York State will be required to have ventilation systems to protect manicurists and others from the potentially dangerous health effects of chemicals used in nail products, the governor announced this week.

The new rule is among the most sweeping changes in the state's initiative, more than a year long, to make the industry safer and more equitable for workers, many of whom say they suffer ill health effects as a result of their jobs.

Any nail salon that opens on Oct. 3 or later will have to have a ventilation system. Existing salons will have five years to comply.

The expense of installing new ventilation will be borne entirely by salon owners, Alphonso David, the counsel to Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, said in an interview. Some salon owners have challenged previous new salon regulations as financially burdensome for small businesses.

"Immigrants take some of the most dangerous jobs and are exposed to conditions that can literally kill them, if not destroy their health," Mr. Cuomo, a Democrat, said in a statement. "We focused on the nail salon workers who, as a class, have been grossly exploited and exposed to dangerous chemicals without any protection. These new ventilation requirements will make nail salons in New York the safest in the nation."

With each dab of polish, slick of



NICOLE BENVIGNO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A nail spa. Existing salons will have five years to meet the new rule; any salon opening on or after Oct. 3 will need ventilators.

topcoat and swipe of acetone-soaked cotton balls, the manicure process entails a slurry of chemicals that make painted nails shiny, durable and removable. But many of those chemicals are known irritants to airways, eyes and skin, and some are tied to more serious ailments such as miscarriage, harm to a fetus and even cancer.

Nail salons, new and existing, will be required to have ventilation that complies with the 2015 International Mechanical Code, a voluntary standard set by the International Code Council, an organization that devises minimum safety standards for workplaces and other spaces. There are approximately 5,000 salons in New York State. Salons that do not

comply risk fines and possible loss of their license. (No data exists for how many salons currently have ventilation.)

When Nail Spa on Downing opened in the West Village in Manhattan last year, the ventilation duct that runs across its ceiling and the vents in the walls were as central an aspect as the pedicure chairs and waxing rooms. "It's a must," said Hui Jie Li, the receptionist, who applauded the new mandate. "It's good for us; it's good for our customers."

In a text message, Donald Yu, the director of the Korean American Nail Salon Association, said that the organization was "still finding the facts" on the ventilation issue, and that it was too early

## 'Sphere' Sculpture to Return to World Trade Center Site

By DAVID W. DUNLAP

Fritz Koenig's "Sphere for Plaza Fountain," once the sculptural centerpiece of the World Trade Center, will be reinstalled there this year, returning a visceral symbol of death and rebirth to an understated — and all but sanitized — landscape.

The 27-foot-high bronze "Sphere" will no longer rest on the exact spot it occupied on Sept. 11, 2001, when the twin towers crashed to earth around it. What was once the center of the Austin J. Tobin Plaza, where it stood, would now be in the middle of a restored Greenwich Street.

Instead, under a resolution approved on Thursday by the board of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, the 25-ton piece will be transported from the Battery, hoisted up into the new elevated Liberty Park and set down near the St. Nicholas National Shrine, which is under construction.

"I recommend that we bring the Koenig 'Sphere' home," said Patrick J. Foye, the executive director of the Port Authority, describing the plan to the commissioners. They approved the move unanimously.

The Port Authority board also approved spending as much as \$600 million as part of a \$4 billion reconstruction by Delta Air Lines of Terminals C and D at La Guardia Airport. Construction is to begin next year. The main building of a new 37-gate Delta terminal would open in 2020. Mr. Foye said the entire project would take seven years, and would coincide



ARCHIV FRITZ KOENIG



NICOLE BENVIGNO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Though badly damaged, Fritz Koenig's "Sphere for Plaza Fountain" survived the attack on the World Trade Center on Sept. 11, 2001, top. It has been in the Battery, above, for the last 14 years.

### A survivor of the 9/11 attack will move to Liberty Park.

with the reconstruction of the aging Central Terminal Building.

Mr. Koenig, the sculptor of the "Sphere," learned on Tuesday that the vote was coming up.

"He is now 92 years old but still very interested in the fate of his 'child,'" said Stefanje Weinmayr, of the Fritz and Maria Koenig Foundation in Landshtut, Germany, who relayed the news to Mr. Koenig at his home. "He was not happy with the last placement in Battery Park. The possibility of a better situation electrified him."

The "Sphere" will overlook the plaza of the National September 11 Memorial, which wanted nothing to do with the sculpture. Neither did the nonprofit conservancy that manages the Battery, at the

southern tip of Manhattan, where Mr. Koenig's work has spent the last 14 years.

In contrast, the St. Nicholas National Shrine welcomed its new neighbor.

"I was, and am, all for putting the 'Sphere' on Liberty Park, where it belongs," said Father Alexander Karloutsos, a protopresbyter, or archpriest, who has rep-

resented the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America in its dealings with the Port Authority. He is also in charge of fund-raising for the shrine.

As the veil of smoke and dust over the area lifted in the autumn of 2001, and the mountainous rubble was cleared away, Mr. Koenig's sculpture could once again be seen. It was an incongruous sight,

to reach a conclusion on its impact on the industry. He added that the "nail salon association will cooperate with the state to improve nail salon environment, whether it's ventilation or any other matter."

The rules are part of a series of reforms put in place after the publication of a two-part series in The New York Times last year detailing underpayment and exploitation in New York's nail salon industry, and the damaging health effects manicurists said they experienced.

The state has acted despite the fact that research is limited on the extent to which nail salon workers are exposed to harmful chemicals and whether a connection can be drawn between them and workers' health, something that Mr. David, the governor's counsel, acknowledged. "What we didn't want to do was spend the next three years doing exhaustive scientific research and analysis and having people exposed to dangerous chemicals in the meantime," he said.

Eugenia Colon, 53, an expert at acrylic nail sculpture who was profiled in the Times series, said she supported the new rule. A longtime former salon owner, she has sarcoidosis, a type of scarring of the lungs, which doctors told her was linked to years of inhaling clouds of plastic dust from artificial nails. News of the new regulations delighted her. "It's too late for me," she said. "But it's amazing it's changing."

simultaneously heartening and dismaying; golden against the grim gray of destruction, an orb among the shards, tattered but still largely intact. It was treated with reverence.

In 2002, the "Sphere" was reinstalled in the Battery and rededicated as New York's official "interim memorial." Local officials rallied to the defense of the sculpture two years later when it seemed to be threatened by a transit project.

After the permanent memorial opened in 2011, the "Sphere" seemed to fade from civic consciousness, even though it claimed the attention of the thousands of visitors to the Battery. Maintenance was neglected and the sculpture was shunted around the park.

Michael R. Bloomberg, who was then the mayor of New York and was (and still is) the chairman of the memorial foundation, had the most say about the future of the "Sphere."

But he said nothing publicly, other than that the sculpture looked beautiful where it was.

His cryptic pronouncement seemed to foreclose on any chance that the "Sphere" would be placed on the memorial plaza. The Port Authority was no more forthcoming with its plans, though Mr. Foye said he thought the "Sphere" ought to return.

In this vacuum of official leadership, the most forceful voice belonged to Michael Burke, whose brother, Capt. William F. Burke Jr. of Engine Company 21, was killed in the 2001 attack. Captain Burke's rig is on permanent display in the National September 11 Memorial Museum.

Michael Burke wanted, above all, to see the "Sphere" incorporated into the current memorial. But he said this week that Liberty Park had its advantages. "It's quieter than the hustle and bustle and Pokémon Go atmosphere of the memorial," he said. "There were a few tourists laying about on the benches, a family. Office workers heading to Battery Park City flowed by. Placed there, it could invoke the 'Sphere' and the World Trade Center plaza in the days before the attacks."

"It's a symbol of world peace that survived the terror that seems to have come to define our times," Mr. Burke said. "Visitors to this place, of all places, need the opportunity to see it."

"After Paris — we were there just three weeks before the November attacks — San Bernardino, Brussels, Orlando, Istanbul," he said, "visitors to this place have to see more than trees and waterfalls."

The New York Times

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## Donald Trump's Campaign of Fear

Donald Trump ascended the dais on Thursday night as the most improbable of Republican presidential nominees.

What historical shift, what tremors in American culture, yielded up Mr. Trump's moment from the depths of the national id? How did a braggadocious Manhattan billionaire with a history of dodgy business deals convince 13 million people feeling battered by a changing world that he is their solution? Chutzpah, reality TV and a hyperactive Twitter account are part of the answer. But Mr. Trump's nomination is also a referendum on the Republican Party, delivered by working people fed up with leaders who want their votes but don't address their struggles.

Given a chance to replace the empty sloganeering and self-aggrandizement of his primary campaign with solid proposals worthy of Americans' trust, Mr. Trump made clear that he instead intends to terrify voters into supporting him, their protector from violence, a word that occurs over and over in his remarks.

Asserting that his nomination comes at a moment of national crisis, of "poverty and violence at home, war and destruction abroad," Mr. Trump offered no solutions beyond his messianic portrayal of himself. "Every day I wake up determined to deliver a better life for the people all across this nation that have been ignored, neglected and abandoned," he said in his speech.

The dark vision of America set forth by Mr. Trump is one in which immigrants, including immigrant families, are prime sources of "violence in our streets and the chaos in our communities." Abroad, he portrays America as a disrespected, humiliated nation.

This is not only factually false, it's a wildly distorted view of all the nation stands for. One would think that if Mr. Trump believed this dystopia existed, he would have a clear and detailed plan for change. But, as always, he has only his empty sales pitch to offer — "I'm with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you," he says.

Mr. Trump trounced 16 rivals and won 37 states by crude, boastful force. Refusing ever to acknowledge error, he has aimed to "knock the hell" out of all who rejected his vision of an America made great again, denying inconvenient facts or inventing convenient ones.

The more he was dismissed by Republican politicians, the more he fired up voters angered by the same treatment. In the end virtually nobody in active Republican leadership stood up to him. He dispatched Jeb Bush, scion of the party's old guard, early on. When the House speaker, Paul Ryan, didn't immediately endorse Mr. Trump, he lashed out, saying that Mr. Ryan was "not ready" to support his big-think agenda. Soon after, Mr. Ryan crumpled, and now, almost daily, he offers weak de-

fenses of Mr. Trump's ideas and conduct.

Ted Cruz, Mr. Trump's chief primary rival, has emerged as one of the few Republicans to look beyond this political cycle, consider his own honor, and refuse to truckle to the nominee. Mr. Trump savaged Mr. Cruz during the primaries, sowing doubts about his citizenship, encouraging misogynistic attacks on his wife, and implying that his father was involved in John F. Kennedy's assassination. Mr. Cruz used his prime-time convention speaking slot on Wednesday to exact revenge, speaking for more than 20 minutes without endorsing Mr. Trump, while the candidate stewed.

It was doubtless a calculated move on Mr. Cruz's part, but it was refreshing to see Mr. Trump at last reap some consequences for his vile tactics.

The consequences for the Republican Party still lie ahead. Mr. Trump emerged as a political force with the racist claim that President Obama was not born in the United States. He has since sought advantage by playing to disaffected people's worst instincts, inventing scapegoats and conspiracy theories, waging and inciting vicious attacks on those who disagree with him. He is a poisonous messenger for a legitimate demand: that an ossified party dedicate itself to improving working people's lives, instead of serving the elite.



ILLUSTRATION BY JOAN WONG; PHOTOS BY STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Restoring the Right to Vote in Texas

Hundreds of thousands of people stymied by Texas' absurdly strict voter ID law will finally get a fair break in casting their ballots in November.

A federal appeals court ruled on Wednesday that the law discriminates against black and Latino voters and violates the federal Voting Rights Act. The court ordered a Federal District Court to come up with a remedy for the law's flaws in time for the November election.

The decision by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in New Orleans, one of the most conservative appellate courts, is a huge blow to the 2011 Texas' law, which went into effect in 2013. Equally important, the ruling signals to other states that restrictive laws will not be allowed to stand.

Civil rights advocates, who have won four court decisions against this law, have argued that it is a scheme to favor Republicans by disenfranchising poor and minority voters, who tend to vote Democratic but often lack the government-issued photo identification — like a driver's license, passport or concealed handgun license — required at the polling station.

The Texas law is one of the worst examples of voter suppression enacted by Republican statehouses since 2010, all in the guise of combating voter fraud. The appellate court rightly punctured this false claim, noting that there were "only two convictions for in-person voter impersonation fraud out of 20 million votes cast in the decade" before Texas enacted the law.

A number of restrictive voting laws were enacted or took effect after the Supreme Court's 2013 decision striking down a crucial and still-needed part of the Voting Rights Act, which had required Texas and other states

with histories of racial discrimination to obtain pre-clearance from the federal government for any voting changes. Now, voter suppression challenges are underway in several states. On Tuesday, a federal court in Wisconsin, in finding discrimination, ordered that voters be allowed to simply sign eligibility affidavits and not be required to meet the state's photo ID requirement.

While the Fifth Circuit ruling found that the Texas law violated Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act in having a discriminatory effect, it did not strike down the law in its entirety. Instead, it ordered the district judge to reweigh evidence that lawmakers acted with intent to discriminate racially. On this question, the appellate majority noted the Legislature's "cloak of ballot integrity could be hiding a more invidious purpose." Should the district judge come back with a convincing finding of intent to discriminate, that could once again make Texas subject to federal oversight for any changes in its voting rules.

Clearly, the Texas law was written to impose higher barriers to voting. Student IDs, utility bills and even voter registration cards, which are allowed in other states, are not acceptable. Many of the poor simply don't have the documentation required. While the state offers free "election identification certificates," voters would have to go to the trouble and cost of obtaining a valid copy of a birth certificate.

A district court ruling in 2014 found that more than 600,000 registered voters — disproportionately poor, black and Latino — lacked the required photo IDs. An estimated 1.2 million more Texans eligible to vote could also be hindered by the law, according to voting rights groups. The new court decision frees them to vote and undercuts a scurrilous effort to block the ballot box.

## Get Juveniles Out of Rikers Island

New York City has developed a plan to move adolescents out of the notorious Rikers Island jail complex to a jail in the Bronx dedicated exclusively to 16- and 17-year-olds. This is an excellent and long-overdue idea that would do much to humanize the way the correctional system treats juveniles.

The idea was recommended by the Justice Department in a report compiled in 2014 by Preet Bharara, the United States attorney in Manhattan, documenting the barbaric treatment of young people at Rikers. The report also found a "deep-seated culture of violence" and revealed that guards often battered teenagers for minor infractions, sometimes for the sole purpose of "inflicting injuries and pain."

Shortly after the report was released, The New Yorker magazine gave a human face to the problem in a heartbreaking article about Kalief Browder, who was accused at age 16 of stealing a backpack and held at Rikers without trial for three years — nearly two of them in solitary confinement. He never recovered from the trauma and killed himself at his family's home last year at the age of 22. By then, the city had ended solitary confinement for Rikers prisoners under the age of 18.

The report recommended a thorough overhaul in

training and operations at the city's Department of Correction. It suggested that adolescents be removed from Rikers, which houses mainly adults, and placed in a facility where guards would be trained to manage young people with behavioral and mental health problems.

In settling a class-action suit that the Justice Department had joined, the city agreed to a broad package of reforms. The idea of a separate jail for 16- and 17-year-olds, though not required by the settlement, was part of that process.

The proposal calls for moving about 200 16- and 17-year-old inmates at Rikers to the Horizon Juvenile Center in the Bronx. The center is currently occupied by 14- and 15-year-olds, who would be moved to a facility in Brooklyn.

When fully reconfigured and refurbished, the Horizon Center would include classrooms and places for therapy sessions and other activities. Located on the mainland, instead of an island, it would also be more accessible to visiting families. The project needs approval from the City Planning Commission and the City Council, and other civic entities get to weigh in as well. But not to move forward with the plan would be a tragedy for some of the city's most vulnerable young people.

## Donald Trump's Convention of Chaos

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Cruz Stirs Convention Fury in Pointed Snub of Trump" (front page, July 21):

You reap what you sow. Decades of appealing to Christian conservatives, while also slyly dog-whistling to bigots, produced the inevitable clash between these two factions that exploded at the Republican convention on Wednesday night.

Ted Cruz should at least be applauded for standing by his religious convictions. No one, however, could be certain that it was religious conviction, rather than political calculation, that motivated Mr. Cruz not to endorse his party's nominee.

This is more than could be said for a number of Christian evangelical leaders who have displayed their hypocrisy by coming out for Donald Trump. So the G.O.P. is left with a splintered party whose leader seems to be primarily interested in glorifying himself without offering the barest hint of how he will lead the nation.

Beginning with Richard Nixon, the G.O.P. has been consistently appealing to Americans' basest instincts. If the party receives a drubbing this November, justice will have been served.

DAVID KUZIEMKO  
Sterling Heights, Mich.

TO THE EDITOR:

Donald Trump tells us that he should be president because he's such a great negotiator and he always wins. And yet he failed to wring an endorsement from Senator Ted Cruz before agreeing to give Mr. Cruz a prime-time speaking slot at the Republican convention, with predictable and unfortunate results (at least for Mr. Trump). It sure doesn't seem as if the Donald "won" with regard to this particular deal.

JONATHAN ENGEL  
New York

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Convention Speeches Unsettle Blacks in G.O.P." (front page, July 20): "Make America White Again." That's the real message of the Republican convention.

DIANNE SELDITCH  
Norwalk, Conn.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "From Links to Lucifer to Calls for Execution, Republicans Seethe at Hillary Clinton" (nytimes.com, July 20):

Donald Trump, by not condemning the words of his followers who would like to see Hillary Clinton incarcerated or executed, is complicit in this dangerous insanity created by both his own vitriolic accusations and those of his campaign staff in their relentless rants portraying Mrs. Clinton as the devil incarnate who must be stopped at all costs in order to preserve our democracy and "make America great again." I know that I am not alone in fearing for the security of Mrs. Clinton.

LORI PEARSON WISE  
Winter Park, Fla.

TO THE EDITOR:

This article reveals the callousness of a significant part of the Republican Party. Franklin D. Roosevelt faced similar antipathy from the same party in 1936, and Hillary Clinton should consider repeating his

response made in a speech at Madison Square Garden on Oct. 31 of that year: "They are unanimous in their hate for me — and I welcome their hatred." I am sure her speechwriters will provide proper attribution if she does so.

WILLIAM G. O'NEILL  
Brooklyn

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Pence's Record on Education in Indiana Is One of Turmoil and Mixed Results" (news article, July 20):

In a toxic and unpredictable election cycle, Gov. Mike Pence's record on education is exactly what we need: a reminder that education is the essential lever to expand opportunity for all Americans.

People on both the left and the right are taking issue with Mr. Pence's record on education. But the reality is that he pushed forward advances in charter schools and vouchers, testing and preschool, all the while battling a state superintendent backed by the unions.

As a nonpartisan organization, the Center for Education Reform does not endorse candidates, but will always recognize and applaud those who advance sound education policies. Mr. Pence is a true pioneer of educational opportunity, with a record that shows he has what it takes to champion policies that move the needle on education opportunity for all.

JEANNE ALLEN  
Founder and Chief Executive  
The Center for Education Reform  
Washington

TO THE EDITOR:

In "Running Mate May Free Clinton's Hand" (news article, July 19), you write, "By choosing someone so conventional, Mr. Trump has made it easier for Mrs. Clinton to follow suit with an unadventurous pick of her own."

Hillary Clinton is a brilliant, impassioned and visionary woman. The last thing she needs is to be advised to go bland. Many are waiting for her to be unleashed to be herself, to be freed to inspire, especially given the dominant and celebrity persona of her Republican opponent. The Democratic ticket needs to ratchet up its "X factor" wattage, not tone it down further.

A bland running mate will have the opposite effect. If Donald Trump can be nominated for president, why not Bill Gates or Tim Cook or Sheryl Sandberg or Bill Moyers or Jon Stewart or Oprah Winfrey or Howard Dean for Hillary Clinton's No. 2? Really.

SUSAN EISNER  
New York

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "For Trusted Trump Tower Insider, Longtime Passion for Writing Leads Into a Storm" (news article, July 21):

I don't believe the speechwriter's claim that she wrote down passages from Michelle Obama's 2008 speech that were read to her by Melania Trump and then included them in a draft speech. If the Trump organization was going to make the speechwriter the fall guy, it should have offered a more plausible explanation for what occurred.

LOLITA BUCKNER INNISS  
Shaker Heights, Ohio

## Republicans on Ukraine

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "A Most Extreme Republican Platform" (editorial, July 19):

Given the trajectory of the Republican Party over the last two decades, culminating in the nomination of Donald Trump for president, it comes as little surprise that the party platform is the most extreme it has ever been.

From my foreign policy role in the Senate, I want to call attention to the Republican Party's apparently new position that the United States should not provide military assistance to Ukraine, as alluded to in its platform.

There is broad, bipartisan support for standing steadfast with Ukraine through political, economic and military support after Russia's invasion two years ago. Russia's aggression violated international law, robbed Ukraine of its sovereign territory, and killed and wounded thousands of people.

Mr. Trump speaks glowingly of President Vladimir V. Putin and underestimates the damage done by Russia in Eastern Europe. It is also worth pointing out that Paul Manafort, the Trump campaign chairman, served as a consultant for Viktor F. Yanukovich, the ousted president of Ukraine, who now lives in exile in Russia.

Mr. Trump has already indicated that he is willing to walk away from our allies in Eastern Europe. It is unfortunate that the Republican Party now reflects that dangerous thinking.

BEN CARDIN  
Washington

*The writer, a Democrat, is a United States senator from Maryland and the ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee.*

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